

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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PREFACE.

THE EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1902 contains most of the Papers which were laid before the Congress at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and several which were read during the recent Session (1901-1902) in London, together with the Proceedings of the Congress at Newcastle, and the Evening Meetings. Owing to the exigencies of funds at the disposal of the Hon. Treasurer, the Volume is somewhat diminished in size; but we believe it will be found no less important archæologically, and no less interesting than its predecessors. Plates and drawings, for many of which we are indebted to the Authors of Papers, or to the Publishers of Books that are noticed, embellish its pages; and the Association is thus enabled to render the Volume attractive as well as instructive. In the department allotted to Antiquarian Intelligence will be found accounts of the latest discoveries, and reviews of recent books on archæological subjects.

The year has not been marked by any great antiquarian discoveries; but several important "finds" have been made, especially in the way of bringing to light remains of Roman Britain—among which may be mentioned the Roman Coffin found at Enfield, the Villa in Dorset, and interesting results from the excavations conducted on the line of the Wall of Antonine in Scotland.

Among old and valued members whose loss the Association deplores must be named Mr. Syer Cuming, an

original member : Mr. Cecil Brent, a member for nearly half a century ; and Mr. Thomas Peacock, who, while health lasted, was rarely absent from the Council Meetings. New members have been added, but the gaps made are difficult to fill, and the best advice we can give our friends, in wishing them a Happy New Year and a prosperous one to the Association, is to exhort them all to do their utmost to fill up the ranks by adding to the number of those Associates who are animated with a true and earnest love of archæology.

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

December 31st, 1902.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, 5s.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5s. each, or the single parts at 1s. 3d. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1901-1902 are as follows:—1901, Nov. 6, 20; Dec. 4; 1902, Jan. 15, 29; Feb. 5, 19; March 5, 19; April 2, 16; May 7 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 p.m.), 21; June 4.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . 1845 WINCHESTER . . . 1846 GLOUCESTER . . . 1847 WARWICK . . . 1848 WORCESTER . . . 1849 CHESTER . . .	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY . . .	
1852 NEWARK . . .	
1853 ROCHESTER . . .	
1854 CHEPSTOW . . .	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . .	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH	
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889 LINCOLN . . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD . . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1891 YORK . . .	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
1893 WINCHESTER . . .	THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.
1894 MANCHESTER . . .	THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.
1896 LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES . . .	COLONEL SIR WALTER WILKIN.
1897 CONWAY . . .	THE LORD MOSTYN.
1898 PETERBOROUGH . . .	THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.
1899 BUNTON . . .	THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.
1900 LEICESTER . . .	THOS. HODGKIN, ESQ., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1901 NEWCASTLE . . .	

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION, 1901-2.

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CECIL T. DAVIS, Esq.

| R. H. FOSTER, Esq.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1902.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY THOS. HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A.

(Read at the Newcastle-on-Tyne Congress, July 18th, 1901.)



It is a great pleasure to my fellow-members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, and to myself, to welcome you, the representatives of the British Archaeological Association, as our visitors. Your Society has not, I think, on any previous occasion honoured the city by the Tyne with a visit, and your antiquarian investigations have generally been more concerned with the southern than with the northern districts of our country.

I have a firm belief in the advantages which our learned Societies both confer and receive by these itinerating visits to different parts of England. My own interest in the study of the Roman Wall—a study, with its resultant studies, which has added immeasurably to the happiness of my life—was derived from a visit paid by the British Association to the camp at Chesters, under the guidance of the late Dr. Bruce, that most enthusiastic and most skilful of teachers. And while, of course, the visitors to a new district generally come in the attitude of learners, to obtain the largest possible amount

of information as to that district's antiquarian treasures, there is always something in their own previously-gathered archaeological lore, and in their comparison of the new facts here observed with the old facts elsewhere assimilated, which makes their visit profitable to those amongst whom they come. As I have before said, they confer as well as receive benefit. So may it be with you and with us at this Meeting.

In considering what should be the subject of my Address to you this evening, I have thought that a Paper entering in detail into some one special subject, such as the Roman Wall, the "Ballad of Chevy Chase," or the "Pilgrimage of Grace," though interesting, at any rate to its author, would not so efficiently serve the purpose of your Congress as a more general survey of the history of our county, prepared with some special reference to the scenes to which each day's excursion will conduct you. Here then, at the risk of being considered utterly superficial, and of insulting a learned audience by the repetition of facts which "every schoolboy knows," follows a slight outline sketch of

THE HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

I think we have to confess that, as compared with some other districts of England, we are not rich in *prehistoric* remains. We have here no Stonehenge and no Avebury to exhibit to you. We have not even anything of the kind so mysteriously interesting as "Long Meg and her Daughters," the pride of our Cumbrian neighbours. We have, however, some well-marked "British Villages," or "Hut-Circles," which, if you had time to visit them, would suggest some interesting comparisons with the similar vestiges on Dartmoor. We have many "barrows," containing evidences of both methods of disposing of the dead, both by sepulture and cremation, which have been for the most part scientifically explored and reported on, by two distinguished northern antiquaries, Canon Greenwell, and (the late) Rev. Rome Hall. We have also some remarkable fine specimens of those mysterious "Cup-markings" incised on rocks, which have aroused

so much interest among antiquaries ; and which, whatever may have been their purpose, religious, epigraphic, or simply artistic, may, I suppose, be safely stated to be the oldest remains of Art of any kind to be found in Britain, the first member of the series of which—shall we say—the Royal Academy is the last and most perfect development. But as we do not propose to make any of these prehistoric monuments the goal of our pilgrimage during the ensuing week, I will not longer dwell upon them, nor invite you to discuss the interesting question whether they are to be assigned to those earliest inhabitants of our island whom scholars now speak of as Iberians, or Euskarians, or rather to their better-known Celtic conquerors.

Let us, then, take our stand at once at the end of the First Century of the Christian Era : the time when the land between Cheviot and Tyne was first visited by men who wrote history as well as made it : the time when representatives of that great Roman State whose story is central in the history of the world, first hewed their way through the forests, and launched their boats upon the streams, of what is now Northumberland.

The year of Our Lord 100 : that for convenience sake shall be our starting-point, and from that year till now eighteen centuries have glided by. I will divide these eighteen centuries into six periods of 300 years each, and will describe, as briefly as I can, the leading features of each of these six periods. Thus, if we accomplish nothing else, we shall at least preserve that sense of historical perspective which the student of those convenient manuals wherein a century is dismissed in half a page, while a whole chapter is given to a decade, is sometimes in danger of losing.

I.—*The Roman Period.*

This lasts, roughly, from A.D. 100 to A.D. 400. What Agricola may have done in our part of Britain between 79 and 86 is to some extent a matter of doubt ; nor can we distinctly state, though we may reasonably conjecture, that the great and wise Emperor Trajan (A.D. 99-117) did

much towards strengthening the hold of the empire on Northern Britain. But with Hadrian (117-138) we emerge into comparative daylight. We know that this much-travelled Emperor visited our island; we know that he built at any rate part of the great wall which strode across Northumberland and Cumberland, from the mouth of the Tyne to the estuary of the Solway; and for the three following centuries the history of Northumberland is practically the history of that wall, and of the great Roman roads, which ran either along it from sea to sea, or across it from the river to the mountains. We dig in the Roman camps. From the inscribed stones which are there unearthed, we can reconstruct in some measure the history which the literary men of Rome, scornful of our out-of-the-world island, have left unwritten. We can see that under the reign of the profligate and cruel Commodus, near the end of the second century (180-192), the wall was broken down in several places; and we can imagine the triumphant Caledonians burning the camps, massacring their defenders, and rushing with savage Gaelic war-songs in their mouths to the plunder of the rich province within the wall.¹ A few years pass: Severus, that rugged man, that stern disciplinarian from Africa, beats back the tide of barbarian conquest, repairs or absolutely reconstructs the wall, and passes on over the hills and through the morasses of North Britain, perhaps as far as Caithness, determined to beat down the opposition of the Caledonians. It is a guerilla war that he has to meet in that wild country, and the historians tell us that it cost him 50,000 men. We can believe that statement now, for we know what guerilla warfare means.

The Emperor was victorious; but the hardships of the campaign, coupled with his own domestic troubles, cost him his life. He died at York (211), worn out with fatigue, worry, and old age. His son Caracalla, who succeeded him, soon rid himself by the swords of his bravoes, of the younger brother, Geta, who was the partner of his throne. On the principle of "hating him whom one has injured" (*Odisse quem laeseris*), Caracalla

¹ *Intra Murum.*

erased the name of Geta from every monument on which it appeared. Many of my hearers will remember the strange appearance of the obliterated name in the inscription on the Arch of Severus in the Roman Forum. You will see the same phenomenon on a monument which is now treasured in the crypt of the abbey at Hexham.

The Emperors of the family of Severus were not, with one exception, admirable men; but they seem to have kept a tight hold on this part of Britain, and numerous inscriptions record the activity of their soldiers, not only along the line of the Roman Wall, but far into the heart of the Northumbrian moorlands. After the last Emperor of this family had been murdered (A.D. 235), a time of utter disorganisation set in, and during the greater part of the remainder of the third century the glorious world-wide Empire seemed to be plunging downwards into an abyss of ruin. It was restored for a while; the process of disintegration was temporarily checked by the wise statesmanship of Diocletian and Constantine. But the evidence of inscriptions (or rather their silence) leads us to the conclusion that Roman rule was never securely re-established in this part of our island. We must think of the fierce Caledonians and the cannibal Atacotti crossing the Tweed and pouring down the valleys of Rede or Tyne, burning the camps, slaying the soldiers of the cohorts, carrying the women back into slavery, and trampling the vaunted Roman eagle in the mire.

With but few ebbings of the tide this influx of barbarism lasted through the fourth century, till at last, in the year 407, the last of the legions quitted Britain never to return.

There can be no difficulty in deciding which of the excursions arranged for your party best illustrates the period that I have thus summarily delineated. On Monday you are invited to visit the two finest camps on the line of the wall: Chesters, once known as Cilurnum, overlooking the lovely glen of the North Tyne, and Housesteads or Borcovicus, seated on the crest of a high basaltic wave, and commanding a wide view of Northumbrian moorlands. The former of these camps we know to have been garrisoned by a troop of Asturian cavalry from

the North of Spain: the latter by a cohort of Tungrians from the country which we now call Belgium. But, though the Roman Wall is a military work, and the camps which you will visit were camps and not peaceful cities, do not, I pray you, in visiting them let your imaginations repeople them only with scenes of war and bloodshed. In the centuries of Roman dominion there were undoubtedly long intervals of comparative tranquillity. So large a force of fighting men—not less than ten thousand—with all their camp-followers, with the wives and concubines and little children of whom their inscriptions tell us, settled on this narrow neck of land between Tyne and Solway, must have exerted a powerful influence on the economic condition of the country. I have sometimes startled our visitors by suggesting that the middle region through which the Roman Wall runs was far more populous and possibly more prosperous in the second century after Christ than it is at the present day. When you stand in the midst of the Forum at Chesters, imagine the crowd of Brigantes from the British village on Gannerton Crags, coming thither to sell their geese and their poultry, their pork and their moor-honey, to the Roman soldiery. And when you read of the withdrawal of the Roman soldiers from Britain, think that there may have been, as suggested in that fine picture by Millais, many an agonised parting between the Roman legionary and his British wife or mistress, filled with sad forebodings that she should see his face no more.

My next period must be called—

II.—*Chaos and the Northumbrian Kingdom.*

For the first century and a half after the departure of the Romans, nothing is known with any certainty as to the history of Northumbria: in fact, I think it would not be putting the case too strongly to say that, for our county the years from 410 to 547 are as much blotted out of history as are the dim ages which we call prehistoric.

Only, let us not, because these years are a blank in our history books, forget that they *were*. During all these hundred and fifty years—a period longer than that which separates us from the accession of George III—the

snow in winter covered the broad back of Cheviot, and the long days of Midsummer brought the countless flocks of sea-birds to rear their young on the pinnacles of the Farne Islands. Five times was the generation of mankind renewed; the helpless baby in the cradle becoming the house-father in his turn; but history, which is the brain of humanity, has kept no impression of the events that occurred in that long period of unconsciousness.

For us here the pall of oblivion is partially lifted, when Ida, father of the Flame-bearer, builds his wooden burgh on the high basaltic rock of Bamburgh. And yet, even now, though we hear something of the succession of kings, and of wars with the Britons of Redesdale, there is for us no history of living interest till the year 617, when Edwin of Deira began his too short but glorious reign.

Edwin, Oswald, Oswy, these three Christian kings of Northumbria, whose reigns covered the better part of the seventh century (617-670), seemed likely to found a dynasty which would extend its rule over the whole of Southern Britain. We know, of course, that this prize, of all-English sway, was not reserved for them but for the kings of the house of Wessex; and that it was not till two centuries later that England attained to anything like unity. But let not your knowledge of the actual fact close the eyes of your imagination to the sight of what might have been. When you visit the Castle of Bamburgh (now being rapidly converted into a stately palace) which stands on the sharp igneous rocks of Ida and of Oswald, overlooking the misty Farne Islands, I pray you to remember that, but for some obscure and unexplained events in the eighth century, this might have been the London, or, at any rate, the Windsor of our island; and that we, whom the men of Cockaigne now doubtless think of as dwelling on the utmost verge of civilisation, should in that case have nestled close to the very heart of the Empire.

And if Bamburgh was the Windsor of that great Northumbrian dynasty, Holy Island—which you will, I hope, visit on the same day—may fitly be called its Westminster.

Some of the tenderest and most beautiful pages in the story of English Christianity are connected with that little spot—

“both land and island twice a day,”

whither your steps will be turned before you leave us. I like to picture to myself the gentle St. Aidan pacing over the long spit of sand which closes in Budle Bay, returning to his island home after sitting at the royal table in Oswald's palace of Bamburgh. When Aidan dies—not at Holy Island but at Bamburgh—the youthful shepherd Cuthbert, tending his flocks in Lauderdale, has a vision of the saint's soul wafted heavenward on the wings of angels. Thus do we find ourselves in the presence of the greatest of Northumbrian—I believe I might say the greatest of English—saints; and all this northern shore of Northumberland echoes to his footsteps. There, amid the steep, low hills of the Kyloes, is the cave still called Cuddy's Hole, in which St. Cuthbert is said to have passed months or years of his life. Here, on Holy Island itself, did he set up his bishop's stool for the few years that he was willing to be a ruler of the Church. Hard by is the little island which he made his first place of retirement, after his abdication of the bishopric. Further off, opposite the rock of Bamburgh, but separated from the land by a mile of stormy water, is the utterly desolate island, one of the group of the Farnes, where he spent the last days of his life, alone with God and the sea-birds.

The death of Cuthbert brings us to the year 687, very near to the end of my second period, but here I must be excused a little overlapping, for the kingdom of Northumbria lasted on for a century longer; and this closing century—the eighth—though in many ways less glorious than that which preceded it, is illumined by the sanctity and the genius of the man who should always be placed in the first rank of English scholars—the Venerable Bede.

Born in 672, fifteen years before the death of Cuthbert, Bede lived his beautiful life of literary and religious

labour till the year 735. I need not repeat the well-known story of his end. I need not remind you of the immense debt which we owe to his "Ecclesiastical History" for so large a part of our knowledge of the early history of our country; but what I must say is, that the more one examines into the literature of the Early Middle Ages, the more profoundly one is impressed with the scientific and literary attainments of this Northumbrian monk. His accurate system of chronology, his intelligent interest in physical science, the wide range of his reading of classical authors, are astonishing in that age of darkness; doubly astonishing when we remember that his ancestor of only two generations back was probably an illiterate and barbarous heathen. Emphatically, it is by contrast with the state of learning in Continental Europe that Bede's gifts are so remarkable. Gregory of Tours, his Frankish counterpart, makes, in almost every sentence of his history, grammatical blunders for which a schoolboy would be flogged. Nearer his own time, the scribes in the Papal Chancery at Rome were writing a language which can hardly be called Latin, so full is it of errors and solecisms. Yet Bede in his monastic cell was at this time composing histories and scientific treatises in Latin which, if not rich or elegant, is almost always correct.

Now, with what existing edifices do we associate the memory of this great man? The answer at once rises to your lips: With the churches of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, the two well-known *foci* of the scholar-saint's lifelong orbit.

As one of our Northern poets¹ has said, imagining the saint's spirit returning to his old haunts by the Tyne—

"The sod
Feels to the foot the same, each clod
Troubling these poor feet torn by flints
And thorns, that oftentimes left their prints
Sea-filled on sands or in the marsh frozen black.
'Tween Wearmouth and sweet Jarrow hastening back
From Benedict to Ceolfrid through the slack."

I fear that you will see both places grievously changed from that quiet loveliness which they may have worn on

¹ W. B. Scott in his *Vision of St. Bede*.

a spring morning when Bede thus vibrated between them. "Sweet Jarrow," especially, is now overhung with smoke, and resounds to the ringing blows of the sons of Tubalcain; but still you have in both places the rare privilege of gazing upon some undoubted Saxon stonework, and may say with some confidence: "This and this are parts of the churches built after the Roman fashion by the great Benedict Biscop."

You will observe that in describing the Northumbrian kingdom we have penetrated some way into our third period. That kingdom did not formally lose its independence, and acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Wessex, till 827; but all through the later part of the eighth century it was, in fact, tottering to its fall, and the chapter of Northumbrian greatness must be considered closed, at latest, in the year 793, when Holy Island was ravaged by the terrible Danish pirate, Ragnar Lodbrok.

For what remains to us, then, of the third period of 300 years, I propose the name,

III.—*Danish Devastations, or the Migrations of the Body of St. Cuthbert.*

Our orthodox English histories generally begin with Egbert and the year 800. For the South of England this is all right. Notwithstanding the ravages of the Danes, and the out-of-joint character of the times, the great qualities of Alfred and that splendid line of kings who sprang from his loins, Edward, Athelstan, Edgar, Edmund Ironside, redeem the history from dulness, and give promise of something better than "the wars of kites and crows" with which so large a part of the Anglo-Saxon annals is filled. But to this part of England the Danish invasions brought simply ruin. All that beautiful dawning civilisation which is typified for us by the learning of Bede and the stone churches of Benedict Biscop was swept away. It perished for ever, no man regarding it, under the gory tread of the Viking marauders. I would venture to suggest that at this present day the ordinary Northumbrian inhabitant is a different being from what he would have been, if during these two critical centuries Northumberland had not

been overshadowed by the ghastly-flapping wings of the Danish Raven. For those two hundred years of ravage were not the end, though they may have been the beginning, of Northumbria's misery. After them came the awful wasting of all the lands north of the Humber, by the order of William the Bastard. Then, at no great interval, came the wars with Scotland, the chronic strife upon the Borders. It is really only in comparatively modern times that we, in these parts, have been allowed to live a life of peace and quietness. Blame us not, therefore, if we in this county have produced no poet of the first rank; if our painters, though meritorious, may hardly claim to stand side by side with Reynolds, or Gainsborough, or Turner. A people who for so many centuries had much ado to live at all could hardly be expected to develop the arts that adorn life, poetry, music, painting, like their more fortunate brothers of the South. The world little knows what it may have lost when Holy Island was ravaged by the Danes, and when Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were given to the flames.

It is an often-told tale how the monks of Lindisfarne, obeying the prophetic word of their beloved patron saint, uttered a century ere the Danish ravages began, at last disinterred the precious body of St. Cuthbert and carried it away; stopping now on the banks of the Tweed, now near Workington in Cumberland, and at last settling down in the old Roman camp-city of Chester-le-Street, ten miles south of Newcastle. There, strange to say, they found a refuge and protection under a young Danish king, and there the body of the saint rested for more than a hundred years (883-995). Thence, in the troublous times of Ethelred the Unready, it was made to undergo yet another migration, being taken by Bishop Aldhune, first to Ripon, and then on the return of peace towards, but not up to, its previous home. Miraculously stayed on the hill of Warden Law, it was brought, as the result of dreams and revelations, and rural voices of good omen, to the river-girdled hill of Dunholme, or Durham, where it now reposes.

We cannot, I fear, show you any building which was actually erected in these stormy centuries, the time of

denudation of an earlier civilisation, not of any fresh deposit. But I am sure that you will have this old and well-known story of Saint Cuthbert's translation vividly in remembrance when you set forth to visit the place (unique, as we venture to consider it, in all Christendom), where—

“St. Cuthbert's temple, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear.”

I fear that the time at the disposal of your Society will not allow of your pausing at Chester-le-Street, even for a short hundred years, like the body of the saint, but you will see from the railway the spire of the church, built by Bishop Bek, on your left hand, about half-way to Durham.

And now, you will, perhaps, hear with some alarm that we have only accomplished the half of our journey. The remaining three stages shall be more rapidly traversed; but I have purposely lingered a little over these first 900 years, in order to remind you, and myself also, of the fact which—to me though well known—is ever strange and difficult to apprehend: that the Norman Conquest comes somewhat more than half-way down in the history of our country; that there was really a longer interval from Julius Agricola to Canute the Dane, than from Canute to his present Majesty King Edward VII.

IV.—*Castle-building: Normans and Early Plantagenets.*

Let us, then, take our stand at the year 1000—that fateful year, which as men deemed was to be the end of the world—and see what are the characteristics of the new era upon which we are entering. Though not the end of the world, it was potentially the end of the old order of things in Saxon England. Ethelred the Unready was now contracting that close alliance with Normandy which caused him to seek a refuge in that land from the victorious Danish king; which caused his son, Edward the Confessor, son of a Norman mother, to be more Norman than English in heart; and which led by no doubtful chain of causes and effects to the great Norman Conquest of 1066.

The Normans came, and whatever other things they

may have left unchanged in our island, they certainly changed the character as well as enormously increased the number of its fortresses. As Browning tells us of an Italian potentate, so was it with William and his Norman barons.

“day by day,
Choosing this pinnacle, the other spot.
A castle building to defend a cot,
A cot built for a castle to defend.
Nothing but castles, castles ; nor an end
To boasts how mountain ridge may join with ridge,
By sunken gallery and soaring bridge.”

I believe it is generally admitted that the pre-Conquest fortresses, the Saxon burhs, had consisted chiefly of a high mound of earth surmounted by a wooden palisade, without masonry. Now the Normans introduced the massive rectangular keep, or its sister the lighter shell-keep, each one rising proudly over the subject hamlet or town, the enduring and apparently eternal embodiment of the great feudal idea, the suggester of the old complaint, “*Quot domini castellorum tot tyranni.*”

The inordinate multiplication of castles in an anarchic period, such as the reign of Stephen ; the attempts made by the sovereign in the interests of law and order to reduce their number ; the difficulty which he himself often experienced in finding faithful servants to whom he could entrust the guardianship of his own royal castles ; the check which was at last imposed upon castle-building, by insisting on the “*licence to crenellate*” being procured before any new fortress was constructed : all these things, as I need not remind you, are among the commonplaces of mediæval history, especially during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

I think I may, therefore, rightly term this, our fourth period, the age of castle-building ; remarking at the same time that here, too, I am not able to avoid a certain overlapping of periods, as the year 1300, which should end my castle-building age, marks instead the transition from the old Norman type of the solitary and massive keep to the later concentric type of castle, with barbican, gate-house, curtain-wall, postern, and all the other appliances for combined and converging defence, with which an

inspection of the ruins of almost any fourteenth-century castle makes us familiar.

Now, for this period no excursion could be more instructive than that we shall take to-morrow, when we shall visit under most competent guidance the two great castles of Alnwick and Warkworth, the visible memorials of the greatness of the feudal barons of the House of Percy. But, moreover, the "New Castle," which gives our city its name, and which you have visited to-day, erected by Henry II; the nearly contemporary castle of Bamburgh, which I hope you will visit on Tuesday; and the Castle-palace-college of Durham, which will be the goal of your pilgrimage on the day following, will, I trust, be considered by you not unworthy specimens of that triumph of defensive architecture (in the days previous to the introduction of "villainous saltpetre"), the Keep of the masons from Normandy.

Of course, while emphasizing the military character of most of the Norman remains in our district, I do not altogether forget its ecclesiastical glories. To mention the great minster of Durham, and the daughter-mother abbey-church of Holy Island, is to call up the remembrance of some of the noblest and most daring of Norman church-builders.

My fifth period (1300 to 1600) I will call

V.—*The Period of the Border Wars.*

And here, at last, we come to a time in which there is none of what I have called overlapping. In 1292, John Balliol did homage to Edward I for the Crown of Scotland. By 1296, the lord had goaded his new vassal by countless insolences into rebellion. In 1305, a part of the dismembered body of the patriot Wallace was displayed at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Scotland was changed—happily not for ever—from a friendly neighbour into a bitter and vindictive enemy. The era of the Border warfare, with all its romance and all its misery, with all its deeds of heroism, and all its squalid lawlessness, with its ballads, its proverbs, its sharpening-up of international dislikes, jealousies, contempts: this strange, wild, archaic era had begun, and was to endure for three centuries till it was

ended in the springtide of 1603, by that auspicious journey during which James Stuart of Scotland, great-great-grandson of Henry VII of England, crossed the Border amid the acclamations of his new as well as of his old subjects. It was on the 9th of April that he entered our town, when the mayor and aldermen knelt before him, and presented him with that pleasantest of all testimonials, a purse of gold; the tradesmen and their apprentices, the flatcaps, rending the air meanwhile with such vociferous huzzas that James, with unwonted modesty, whispered to one of his Scottish lords, "By ma saul, these men are eneuch to spoil a gude king."

I have brought you to the happy ending of these three centuries of feud; but think, I pray you, what they must have meant practically to the daily life of the dwellers in Northumberland and the sister county of Cumberland. Not as it was to the rest of England: one great, solemn, military expedition every ten or twenty years, with its chances of glory or plunder to be won on the other side of the Tweed, but one unceasing monotonous story of raids and petty plunderings: for the herdsman, no certainty that ere nightfall the "riders" would not appear in his valley and drive off the best of his cattle; for the townsman, the irksome duty of mounting guard on the town walls, the occasional agony of seeing his dwelling wrapped in flames, and the accumulations of a lifetime destroyed by the ravages of the Scots.

To illustrate this romantic but unhappy Border-time, your Secretaries have arranged the excursion for the 25th inst., when I hope to have the honour of conducting you over the ever-memorable battlefield of Flodden.

And now, for the last three hundred years (1600-1900) what can we call them but—notwithstanding some interruptions from Civil War and from two soon suppressed rebellions—on the whole an era of

VI.—*Peace and Prosperity.*

For them I can only use the hackneyed quotation, *Si monumentum quaeris circumspice*. The wilderness of houses in the midst of which we meet, the bridges, the

factories, the iron foundries, the long lines of dull streets lined with grim "classical" architecture, the smoke, the clangour, the Central Railway Station—that maelstrom of men—all or nearly all of this busy world has sprung into existence since the mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne kneeled to James Stuart; and to most of its manifestations there is no corresponding ray in the archæological spectrum.

Only, since the beginnings of all mighty changes should have an interest, at any rate for the historian, I would ask you, when on Monday you are travelling westward by the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, to get your guides to point out to you a little inconspicuous house on the north bank of the Tyne, between Ryton and Wylam. There lived for some years, and not far from it was born, the man who, by a simple mechanical invention has revolutionised both worlds—that of commerce and that of war; the only man, I think we may say, who has been the cause of such changes on the surface of our globe, as with telescopes such as we possess might be seen from the nearest planet—the inventor of the locomotive, George Stephenson.

I would gladly have described to you at some length what archæology has achieved and suffered during this same most changeful period; how some of our most interesting monuments have fallen victims to what is called architectural or industrial "improvement;" and how, on the other hand, a noble succession of students—Horsley, Hodgson, Bruce, and their living successors (whom I name not, though I trust you will soon make their personal acquaintance)—have carried on the work of Camden and of Cotton.

But I have already detained you too long; and I will only, in conclusion, express my hope that the arrangements for your survey of our county may be successfully carried out, and that your visit to Northumberland may be, in the retrospect, not the least agreeable, nor the least interesting of the memories of the Archæological Association.





THE EARLY LORDS OF BELVOIR.

BY W. A. CARRINGTON, ESQ.

(Concluded from vol. cii, p. 326.)

THE MUNIMENTS.



THE collection of Records contained in the muniment-room at Belvoir, in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, is probably unsurpassed, in extent and varied interest, by any other in the hands of a private individual in the kingdom.

The *Cartulary* of the Priory of St. Mary at Belvoir claims the first notice: a volume measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $14\frac{1}{2}$ in., and containing 112 leaves of parchment, written in double columns, with occasional blank leaves interspersed. This manuscript contains transcripts of numerous charters of endowments and benefactions—many of which are not now extant—with biographical notices of various benefactors to the Priory. The volume is embellished with illuminated capitals, half-length portraits, and heads of ecclesiastics, together with coats-of-arms. It appears to be fifteenth-century work, with the exception of a few pages towards the end of the volume in a later hand. Some pages are occupied with terriers of the Priory lands, with the names of the tenants and the amount of their holdings. Passing from this, the next most important feature of the collection is the very extensive and valuable series of charters, numbering over 6000: most of which are in excellent preservation, and with numerous seals attached, of great interest. These charters relate not only to the lords of Belvoir and their

extensive possessions in many English counties, and to the distinguished families with whom they formed alliances, but to hundreds of other families whose lands, in the course of many generations, have been acquired, by purchase and otherwise.

The value of these records for heraldic and genealogical investigations is obvious: the armorial seals attached to many of them supplying evidence of the usage and the bearings of arms by families at an early period: and in some instances not elsewhere recorded. Of little inferior interest is the remarkable number of manorial, court-leet, and forest rolls still preserved, by which the descent of manors and lands may often be traced, and by which also many links in the family chain may be formed. Amongst the counties to which these rolls relate are: Leicester, Warwick, Derby, Lincoln, York, Rutland. Wilts, Cambridge, Staffs, Sussex, Suffolk, and Hants. Among the remaining records may be enumerated grants, patents, settlements, wills, subsidy and muster rolls, inquisitions, pleas, terriers of lands, estate and household accounts, pedigrees, accounts of stewardships of forests, and of other offices, both civil and military, held at different periods by various members of the families of Manners, Vernon, and others; monastic records of Belvoir, Croxton, Garendon, etc.

The estate and household accounts are of exceptional interest. The earliest volume in English is of the reign of Henry VI, and between that period and the end of the seventeenth century the series comprises 393 volumes, but with intervals of varying extent. The majority of them contain domestic accounts, which portray, in a very vivid and detailed manner, the habits, dress, customs, amusements, occupations, entertainments and movements, both at home and abroad, of a family of distinction; with records of births, baptisms, and confirmations of members of the family and others. Nor are they without some historical interest, owing to the intimate connection of several members of the family with the Court: one of whom, Thomas, first Earl, was in great favour with Henry VIII, and attended the King at the meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was in frequent

attendance at the Court at Windsor, Greenwich, and elsewhere.

In 1539, he was appointed by the King lord chamberlain to Queen Anne of Cleves; and, in 1542, warden of the East Marches towards Scotland; and there is a thick volume among the accounts for that year, recording the receipts and expenses in relation to that office. The Earl died in the following year; and in 1548, his son Henry, second Earl, was appointed warden; and a similar volume to the last-mentioned, for the years 1549-50, also exists in the series of accounts.

With reference also to this subject may be mentioned the interesting lists, with descriptions, of New Year's gifts to Henry VIII and his queens, Elizabeth, James I, and various officers of state; and the royal presents in return.

THE MONUMENTS IN BOTTESFORD CHURCH, ETC.

The earliest (previously referred to) is a small figure of marble, affixed to the north wall of the chancel, traditionally reputed to be a sculpture of Robert de Toden, but is more probably commemorative of William de Albini III, who died in 1236.

The next memorial is a stone in the north wall in the chancel, recording the burial of the heart of Robert de Ros in 1285; and of his wife Isabella, at Newstead, in 1301.

On an altar-tomb to the south side of the altar is the recumbent figure of William de Ros, who died in 1414.

On the floor, at the west end of the south aisle, on the top of a slab, only what remains of a tomb, is the recumbent figure of a lady, supposed to be Margaret, widow of William de Ros.

On the north side of the altar is an embattled tomb of alabaster, with the figure of a recumbent knight, John, Lord Ros: who, with his brother William, was slain in France in 1421.

In the middle of the chancel floor is a beautiful

alabaster tomb, with the recumbent effigies of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland, and his Countess, Eleanor. The Earl died September 20th, 1543.

Three or four feet to the west of the last is another tomb, with the figures of Henry, second Earl of Rutland, who died September 17th, 1563; and of Margaret, his wife.

On an altar-tomb, against the wall of the south side of the chancel, are the recumbent effigies of Edward, third Earl of Rutland; and his Countess, Isabel. The Earl died in London, April 14th, 1587.

Against the wall on the north side of the chancel, and beneath a flat canopy, supported by columns, is an altar-tomb, on which are the recumbent effigies of John, fourth Earl of Rutland, and Elizabeth, his Countess. The Earl died at Nottingham, February 24th, 1587-8.

On the north side also is the monument of Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, and Elizabeth, his wife. He died at Cambridge, June 26th, 1612.

Against the south wall of the chancel, nearest the east, a monument commemorates Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, and his two wives, Frances and Cecily; also his two sons (by Cecily, his second wife), Henry and Francis, who died in their infancy, respectively in 1613 and 1619.

On the floor at the base of this monument is another inscription: "Francis, Earl of Rutland, was buried 20 Feb. 1632" (1632-3).

Also against the south wall stands a Roman altar, or pedestal, in front of which is a slab for the inscription, and upon which stands a figure of statuary marble in Roman costume: in commemoration of George, seventh Earl of Rutland, who died at his house in the Savoy, London, March 29th, 1641-2.

On another monument, similar to the last, against the north wall, is a memorial of John, eighth Earl of Rutland, son of Sir George Manners, of Haddon, by Grace, his wife; who succeeded his cousin George, seventh Earl of Rutland, in 1641. The Earl died at Haddon, September 29th, 1679.

The following Extracts, relating to the funerals of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland, Edward, John, and Roger, the third, fourth, and fifth Earls, are from the old accounts still preserved at Belvoir.

The funeral, tomb, &c. of Thomas, first Earl.

funerall expenses aboute the enterement of the seid
late Erle.

Charges aboute the Corps—

for the charges of the stufe that was occupied aboute the searing of the corps/ and to the surgion for his penes	...	...	xiijs.
To the Plumer for his charges for puttyng the corps in lead	...	...	iiijs. iiijd.
To Doctor Wendy for his peynes takyng about the said Erle in his siknes and after co'tyneuyng there by the space of ij days	...	...	vli. ijs. xd.
To Richard Guy for cariage of ij lodes of Tymber to make the herce at Bottelford	...	...	vjs.
To Sampson Alsebroke for makyng the herce of Tymber at Bottelford	...	...	xiijs. xd.
To Richard esquier Smythe for working of ij days in making of the Irons that beres the cote armor at on tyme ijs. at an other tyme xxijd.	...	...	iijs. xd.
To Wilton Grey for carieng of wax blakclothes Stoles furnes and other thinge dyuers tymes to Botlforde and to belver agayn	...	...	xxd.
ffor the borde wages of x'pofer leigh and Nicholas Hunte working iiij days setting vp the Irons and such lyke in Botelsford for my lordes Armer at vjd. the day	...	...	ijs.
Payd the day of A° rr Henrici viij xxxvto for wax torchelyghtes and sergis occupied aboute the herce at the buriall day and moneth day ¹	...	...	xli. xiijs.
To Adrian Poole for mending the Skucheons and Banners that came from london	...	...	viijs.
To John Horsley for ij dosyn of staff Torches at xxs. the dosen	...	...	xls.

¹ Month's-day or month's mind. This term is frequently found in old wills and testamentary dispositions. Where mention is made of a month's-mind, and a year's-mind, they were greater or lesser funeral solemnities ordered by the deceased to hold him in remembrance, and at which masses were said for the soul. The custom ceased at the Reformation.

“For if a trumpet sound or drum beat,
Who has not a month's mind to combat?”

Hudibras.

To Thom's Heryng for workemanship about the herse Stafe torches and other thynges neces- sarye for the enterement	...	...	vj <i>li</i> . xiijs. jd.
To Henry leveret for a pece of bockeram to cover the herse at Botelsforde	...	...	vjs.
To Adrian Poole for makyng of iiij Banners and of scucheons and penselles to the furniture of the seyd herce	...	...	vii <i>li</i> . viijs.
(Pensells, small banners.)			
To phillipot of Newarke for vj yerdes of white saten in Burdges (Bruges) to make the whit Crosse in the palde (pall) and for the brugares costes	...	...	xiijs. ix <i>d</i> .

Blakeclothe.

ffun'alles.

To harry leveret of Grantham for xij yerdes and iij q'teres of Blakeclothe	...	...	ii <i>li</i> . xvjs. vjd.
To Will'm Moer of Derby for xxiiij yards and d'i of blake clothe	...	...	ii <i>li</i> . xiijs.
To the seid Will'm for xxxiiij yards iij quarters and a half of blake clothe at one time—vj <i>li</i> . and for xxij yards d'i of Blake clothe at an other tyme—vj <i>li</i> . vijs. vjd.	...	...	xii <i>li</i> . vijs. vjd.
To Symon leveret for xvj yeardes of blake clothe.	...	...	ii <i>li</i> . xiijs. viij <i>d</i> .
To Will'm Cawponer for liiij yerdes iij quarters and d'i of blake clothe	...	...	xii <i>li</i> . xixs. ix <i>d</i> .
To John Bonyarde for xxviiij yards of blake cloth/ xlviij yards of freese/ and xl yards of cotton	...	...	xij <i>li</i> . xij <i>d</i> .
To Thomas Colem of Nottingh'm for xlvj yards of blake clothe	...	...	x <i>li</i> . xs. viij <i>d</i> .
To Hugh Kelstern in parte payment of Clviij <i>li</i> . xixs. x <i>d</i> . for	...	...	yeardes of blake clothe
yeardes of Brode ruggis and yards of cotton	...	...	exl <i>li</i> .
To John lookwode for his blak cote clothe of blake bought by him at london...	...	...	xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
To Symon leveret for viij doss. of brode rugges and cxix yeardes of cotton	...	...	v <i>li</i> . iiij <i>li</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
To froosel for his mornyng blak cote that he bought hymself	...	...	xijs. vjd.
To Richard Oldham for his blak cote whiche he bought...	...	...	xls.

Making of garments.

To Witon for makying of xij peer mennes gownes And the palle concernyng the Charet and the horses	vijs. viij <i>d</i> .
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To the same Witon for the makyng of the app'ell of yong Giles Strangwise and for some stufe	xjs. ix <i>d</i> .
To Thomas parre covering of the charret and makyng and lynyng of the cote of Nicholas and Willm boyes of the kycheu	iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
To John Bonyard for iij yong gentilmens cotes and gownes and lynyng and buttons to the same for makyng of three poore menes gownes at Botel- forde	xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> . xlvij <i>d</i> .

Ryding Charges about the fun'alles.

To John Sidnam rydyng to M'. Swyft for a boke of the order of the buriall of my lorde	vs.
To one of leicester for bryngyng a letter from Sir Antonye Brown concernyng the funeralles	xvj <i>d</i> .
To M'. Chawrthe the Seruaunt to feche M'. Mollenx for his advice concernyng the fun'alles	xvj <i>d</i> .
To John leake ridyng to the Courte to the Kynges maiestie that his grace might be advertised of the said late Erle my lordes deathe	viijs. viij <i>d</i> .
To Thom's Dysney rydyng to lincoln for a Sute of Vestments to be occupied at the day of the enturment	vjs. xj <i>d</i> .
To Nicholas Pawson rydyng to Nottingham for the surgeon to seare ¹ the corps	xij <i>d</i> .
To Robart Surgeon for fetchyng of spices at Notyngham for the corps	xvs.
To Will'm Truswell for ridyng to Sir Will'm paston ² to com to the buriall	vjs. vj <i>d</i> .
To John lokewode ridyng to london w't iij Gel- dynges to fetche my ladys and the other ladys mornyng stufe	xlijs. vj <i>d</i> .
To Thom's Tanfyld rydyng abroad to dyuers Townes to make billes of poor mens names to take almes and helpyng to distribute the same	vs. iiij <i>d</i> .

Rewardes conc'nyng the fun'alles.

To the Clarke of Grantham for bringyng of a sylver crosse to set on the herse	vij <i>d</i> .
To therle of Shrewsburie sarvaunt gyvyng his advise for the buriall	vs.
To M'. hennage Seruaunte sent to see the order of the enterement	xxxxs.
To M'. Sergiant Mullinex comyng to Belvoyer to gyve his advice that the fun'alles might p'ceede	xxijs. vj <i>d</i> .

¹ To Cere, *i.e.* to wrap in a waxed winding-sheet.² The Earl of Rutland married Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Paston, of Paston, co. Norfolk, Knt.

To the same M. Mollinex for the charges of his horses and Seruauntes there the same tyme	iijs. ijd.
Given by assent of my lady and the exeecutors to one Turnebull in reward for his panes takyng there	xxs.
To one that rang a bell ev'y day during the monethe by my ladies com'aundement at Bottesforde	xxd.
To the Kyng of the heraldes for his fee and the reward for the harold that came from london to Belvoyer and for his chargis to and froe	vj <i>l</i> . xiijs. iijd.
To the officers of the Church of lincoln apone the boroyng of the Sute of Vestment ...	xs.

Chargis of his housholde during the Monethe of the fun'alles
payd by the executors.

To the Clarke of the Kychen at iij sev'all pay-mentes	xij <i>l</i> .
To my lady in the prise of fishe out of Norff' ...	xxxiiij <i>l</i> . xvijs. vjd.
Payd to my lady for that that was owing for the rest of the Chargis and expenses of the household during the monyth	xiiij <i>l</i> . vs. viijd.

fioryn chargis concerning the fun'alles.

ffor the digging of xij lodes of stone for the mending of the highe way at redmyldgate where the corps did reste	ijs. vjd.
ffor a lode of Rysshys (rushes) at the buriall day and at the monethes day	ijs.
ffor vj cappes for the yong lorde and the other yong gentilmen	xxs.

Chargis about the grave and Tombe of the seid Erle.

About the Grave.

for makyng the Vawt of my lordes grave ...	xiijs. xijd.
Payd to Richard Parker the alablastre man in p'te payment of xx <i>l</i> . for makyng a tombe of alablastre for my lorde and my ladye to be sett at Botelford accordyng to the effect of an indenture therof made	vj <i>l</i> . xiijs. iiijd.
Payd to lupton of Waltham rughmason for iiij days dyggyng stone for the Vawte to be made w't to bere the tome due the iij day of may A'o xxxvj <i>ti</i> .—at vjd. the day ijs. and to Will'm West laborer for lyke days at iiijd. the day—xvj <i>l</i>	ijs. iiijd.

Payd for the cariage of the same stone from the warrin hill to Bottelsforde, viz., to Thom's denese for iij lodes—xviij*d.* to Henry samson for ij lode—xij*d.* to Hugh wilde for a lode—vj*d.* To Rychard Wyer for a lode—vj*d.* and to Henry Talbon for a lode—vj*d.* ... iiij*s.*

Abought the Tombe.

Payd to Rychard Wyer for the cariage of ij lodes of Ashler from Croxton to Bottelsford ... ij*s.*
 To John Atkinson of Kilvington for on lode of lyme for the same Tombe ... iiis. iiij*d.*
 The heyer of a laborer two days diggyng and castyng of sande for the same Tombe ... viij*d.*
 To John lupton rughmason for vj days worke at the seid Tombe the two walles and ij arches to bere the tombe due the iij day of May to John lupton the elder for lyke days...iiij*s.* ... vj*s.*
 To Richard Ranshawe and Robt. Jenkynson every of them for vj days seruyng the same masons due the same day at iiij the day ... iiij*s.*
 To Richard Parker alablaster worker for the last payment of all man' of Chargis of the seid Tombe and setting it vp in botelsford Churche according vnto the indenture of Coven'nte made for the same Between the executors and hime ou' and besyd to hime payd before ... xiiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*

Almes.

Almes deodes.

To dyuers townshipes in almes at the monethes day ... xix*li.* vs. viij*d.*
 To ij Singing prestes the on seruyng (serving) at Botelforde vij dayes the other by the space of xxti. dayes ... xiiij*s.*
 To the prestes that ministred at the buriall daye ... xxiiij*s.* vij*d.*
 Moreover for diu'se offeringes masses and exequies at the day of the enterement ... ij*li.* xvj*s.* vd.
 Also distribute to poer people in almes the same day by thandes of Antonye Selenger and Ser. Nicholas of Botelford ... xs. xd.
 Geven at the com'ndment of my lady to dowell of Enfyld her olde Seruannt in almes ... vs.
 Gyuen in almes to xiiij poor men at iij poere women at Botelford by the space of xv monythes begynnyng the xxvij day of Septembre A'o. xxxvto and endyng the xxi day of Nouember A'o. xxxvito to eu'y of the xiiij poore men vd

- the weke which is for the monyth for them
all—xxjs. viij*d.* And to eu'y of the poer
women xij*d.* the mony which is for them all
—iij*s.* xviijs. x*d.*
- Given in almes by thandes of Sir John Netham
priste agaynst Christenuas A'o. xxxv*to* to
poer folkes of the Egle—vjs. viij*d.* to the poer
folkes of Waltham—vjs. viij*d.* and to poer
folkes of Croxton Keriall—vjs. viij*d.* ... xxs.
- Gyuen in lyke almes by thandes of John Stoughton
in lente A'o. xxxv*to* to poer folkes in Bottel-
ford—vs. vj*d.*/ Wollesthorp—vjs./ Croxton—
vs. iiij*d.* and Waltham—vjs. vj*d.* ... xxijs. iiij*d.*
- Gyuen in lyke almes by thandes of M'r Watson
vpon wednesday, thursday and friday next
before Estr' A'o. xxxv*to* to the poer folkes of
Croxton—xs. Saltby—iij*s.* iiij*d.* Sproxton—
iij*s.* Waltham—xs. Eyton—vs. Braunston—
vs. Knypton—vs. Harston—xx*d.* Roppesley
vjs. viij*d.* litell pounton—xx*d.* and Stroxton
—iij*s.* iiij*d.* lvs.
- Gyven in almes the same tyme by thandes of M'r
Watson to the poore folkes of Wollesthorne—
vjs. viij*d.* Broughton—vs. Howis—iij*s.* iiij*d.*
Stathorn—vjs. viij*d.* Plungarth—xx*d.* Barke-
ston—vs. Redmyld—vs. Muston—vs. Bottels-
forde—xx*s.* Esthorpe Normanton and Bell-
vyer—xx*s.* iiij*li.* viijs. iiij*d.*
- Gyven in lyke almes by thandes of the seid M'r
Watson at whitsontyd A'o. xxxv*to* to the
poer folkes of Waltham—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Croxton—
iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Saltby—ijs./ Sproxton—ijs./ Eton
—ijs./ Braunston—xx*d.*/ Roppesley—xx*d.*/
Howis—ijs./ Broughton—ijs./ Plungarth—
xx*d.*/ Barkeston—ijs./ Redmylde—ijs. ... xxs. v*d.*
- Gyven in lyke almes by thandes of John Stoughton
in the day of the yeres mynde to the poer
folkes of Bottelforthe—x*ls.*/ Esthorpe and
Normanton—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Muston—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/
Redmylde—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Barkeston—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/
Plungarth—xx*d.*/ Stathorn—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Sede-
broke—vs. Baraby—vs. Wollesthorne—vjs.
viij*d.*/ Eton—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Braunston—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/
Saltby—ijs./ Sproxton—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Harston—
xx*d.*/ Knypton—iij*s.* iiij*d.*/ Waltham—xs./
Croxton—xs./ Belver—vijs. cxvs. viij*d.*
- Payd to Sir Will'm harbard prist of Botelford for
one quartt's wagis prayng for my lorde due
the xth day of aprill A'o xxxv*to.* xxx*s.*

Payd to the same sir Will'm for an other quartt's wagis due the xiiijth day of July Anno xxxvjto.	xxxs.
Payd to the same Sir Will'm for lyke quarter wagis due the xxijth day of october A'o xxxvjto.	xxxs.
Paid at Bottesforde the same day of the yeres mynde by thandes of Antony Sellynger for the wages of pristis, eu'y prist viij <i>d.</i> the pece w't Clarke and dyu'se other app'tenyng to the quere (choir) for syngyng mase dirge and mase of requiem for my lorde the xxvij day of September A'o xxxvjto.	xxs.
Payd at Belvoyer by thandes of John Stoughton at the same yeres day to ix prestes eu'y prest at viij <i>d.</i> the pece xiiij Clarkes eu'y of them at iiij <i>d.</i> the pece singyng dirige and mase for my lorde the xxvjth and xxvijth days of Septembre Anno xxxvjto. vijs. And to the viij torche berares ijs. viij <i>d.</i> And for makyng four candelstyckes of wode for the herse ijs.	xxijs.
Payd in reward to doctor hardyman p'son of Col- sterworthe p'chyng (preaching) at Botelforde sone after the monethes day vijs. vj <i>d.</i> And to M'. Butler in lyke man' for p'chyng ther at the yeres day vs.	xijs. vj <i>d.</i>
Pay'd by thandes of John Bateman to Sir Will'm Mody a blynde preste at Warter as his reward whiche my lorde graunted vnto him yerely by waye of Almes p' A'o xxxvito.	xxs.
Payd by thandes of the same John to the bedmen of Bottesforde the xxiiij daye of Decembre A'o xxxvjto. (vidz) to the xij poor men and iij women for a monyth then ended ou' and besydes xv moneths befor payd and allowed for lyke	xxiiijs. viid.
Payd to G. Richard Dwyne Curate of Belvoyer for my lordes mortuary	xs.

The following extracts from the accounts relate to the tombs of Edward, the third Earl, who died 14 April, 1587; and his brother John, who died 24 Feb., 1588, which were erected in the chancel of Bottesford Church in 1591, by Elizabeth, the widow of the last-named Earl :—

Rewards.

To the tome maker of Burton sup' trent.

 Paid the xxxth of May A'o 1590 to the Tom'
 maker of Burton vpon Trent for his Charges
 from thence to Belvoire and Backe againe

to give his advice for the plasinge of both
the Erles tommes at Bottesford by her La:pp
Com'andement xs.

Paid the same day to henry Kinder of Newarke
upon trenth for his pains also there the same
tyme to vewe the plasinge of the said tom'es
in Reward also, by her La:pp Com'andement iiijs.

In full paiement of CC*li*. for making thee towe Erles Tolmes.

Paid the xvj of October An'o 1591 to Mr. Garret
Johnson Tolme maker the some of one hun-
dredth poundes of Lawful English monye in
full paiement of Towe hunderith poundes for
the makinge of towe tolmes and settinge the
same vp at Bottesford for the towe lat Erles
Lord Edward and Lo: John C.

The charges in conveinge the towe Tom'es for the towe Right
honorable the Laite Lord Edward and Lord John late Erles of
Rutland from London to Boston and from thence to Bottesforde
where both of theire honor's Corpes lyethe Buryed, and Caused to
be made and Sett vpe by the Vertuous and Right honorable Ladie
Elizabeth Counteis of Rutland my good Ladie and Mrs. and latt
wyffe vnto the said Erle John.

first paid for the Charges of this accomptant his
horse for towe days at towe Seu'all tymes
Ridinge to Blanknay (co. Linc.) to S'r
Anthony Thorolds for the p'vision of the
Cariag to convey the same tommes w'th my
La: and the La: Bedforth theire honors
letters xd.

The charges of the Conveinge of the towe tom'es from London to
Boston and so to Bottesforde and the charges of the Settinge vp of
the same in the Chancell there.

Paid at Sleiforth the xth of Septembre An'o 1591
for Richard Collishawe Richard Brafeld and
one of Mr. Garet Johnson his men, for
theire deners and theire horses meat there xxijd.

Paid the xjth of Septembre An'o 1591 to Mr.
Norrysse the M'r. of the Shipec for the Con-
veinge of the said towe tommes ffrom Lon-
don to Boston by co'position maid by Mr.
Thom's Screvene—xij*li*. and to his men in
Reward fyve shillinge xij*li*. vs.

It'm paid at Boston for Mendinge of a ferme
(form) and for a corde to bynd the head of
the same ffarne vjd.

It'm paid for the hier of a horse for one of the workemen about the same tom'es from Boston to Bottesford to gyve knowledge that the same tom'es were com'ed to Boston ...	iijs.
Paid at Boston to the porters for helping to vnload the tom'es forthe of the Shipec and to loed the cartes ...	xijd.
Paid for levers and Roulls and for a pece of wood to vnd'r Stour the Carte w'ch brake the axeltrie and Stayed by the waye at heather ...	vij <i>d.</i>
Paid at Boston for drinke after the hade lodene	v <i>d.</i>
Paid to one of Welbie for watchinge the saide carte v <i>d.</i> /and for drinke for them w'ch watched w'th him ii <i>d.</i> /and for drinke the next day when the went for the <i>pyckture</i> iii <i>d.</i>	xiii <i>d.</i>
Paid for the Charges of towe of the workemen at boston staying there with the said tom'es/ from the xiiijth of the same/and for the charges of Richard Collyshawe for iiij days	xxjs.
Paid for Cariinge the fferme to the haven and Backe againe ...	xijd.
Paid for Swarfage and toullage (wharfage and tollage) ...	ijs.
Paid for Ric. Collishawe his horse meate for showinge of his horse at Heckington ...	ijs. v <i>d.</i>
Paid the xth of Septembre an'o 1591 at nottingham for ffoure hunderith of Breake (Bricks)—vjs. and given to Will'm Warrine of northampton to drinke for ffetchinge the same—v <i>d.</i>	vjs. v <i>d.</i>
Paid the xvth day of September an'o 1591 to Will'm Howghe of Bottesford Baker for the Supers and Breake ffastes for xvij parsonnes com'inge w'th the xv Caryages from Boston to Bottesford ...	xs. viii <i>d.</i>
Paid the same day to Robart Howghe for the suppers and Breake faste of xvj p'sonn com'inge w'th the Carrages ...	xs. ii <i>d.</i>
Paid the same nyghte to Will'am Lausonn and Anthonye Vincent and other theire p'tners for one nyghtes graise for theire carte horses for xv Cariages, viz.—iii <i>j</i> ^{xx} and viij (88) at ii <i>d.</i> a peice the nyght ...	xxiiijs. v <i>d.</i>
Paid for towe new Skutles for the laborars at the same worke to Beare Breeke and stoane and other Stoffe to the workemen ...	iiij <i>d.</i>
Paid for towe poundes Rocell (resin)—v <i>d.</i> and one pond wax—x <i>d.</i> to maike Symone w'th (cement) ...	xv <i>d.</i>

- Paid to Will'm Swinscoe carpinter for iij days
worke vnd'settinge the chambre floure in the
Revestre and the stoune pillar cutforth in the
walle where the Erle John his honor tombe
standith at viij*d*. the day to meat and
wages ijs.
- Paid to henry babbage for towe days at the same
worke and ly'ke wages xv*d*.
- Paid to Nycholas northe for one day at the
same viij*d*.
- Paid to the same nycholas northe for iij days
worke in felling a nashe (ash) tree and
makinge tressels and ffeitinge of the same to
forgettinge vp the iiij great pycktures (effigies)
and for vndersettinge the wall where the
Erle Edward pickture lyethe and his honors
Tome Standith and dyvers workes about the
same at viii*d*. the day to meat and wages ... ijs. viij*d*.
- Paid the xiiijth of Auguste An'o 1591 to Ric.
Broune Rowghe masonne for takinge down
the Chancell walle of Bothesydes the chancell
where the Tomes be sett vp, and makinge vp
the same againe and for Burninge plaster and
mendinge the Chambre fflower ov'r the
Revestre w'th other necessarie works about
the same Tomes for xvj days and a halfe at
ix*d*. the day to meat and wages ... xijs. iiij*d*.
- Paid the xvijth of Octobre an'o 1591 to John
Mylnes and Richard dalbie of Redmylde
laborars for—iij days a peice diginge Breke
at Belvoir for the same tomes at *vd*. a peice
the day to meat and wages ijs. v*d*.
- Paid the xvijth of Octobre an'o 1591 to Richard
Coward of Bottesford laborar for Se'vinge the
said Tome makers and Roughe masonn w'th
lyme sande and stounes and other necessarie
things about the same workes for xxv days at
iiij*d*. the day to meat and wages ... viiijs. iiij*d*.
- Paid the same day to John Wilkinsonne of
Bottesford laborar for xx days at the same
worke at iiij*d*. the day to meat and wages
also vjs. viij*d*.
- Paid the same day to nycholas bothamley of
Bottesford Smithe for workinge three bares
(bars) of her La:pp owne Iron w'ch came
from Belvoire into dyvers Crampes, tounges
and dyvers other Ingynes for bothe the said
Toulmes wheinge ix stoune d'i vs.

Paid at Bottesford for the graise of Mr. Garrat
 Johnsonne the Tollme maker his horse and
 his Sonnes wylste my Lorde and my Lady
 stayed at Belvoire because he wold not have
 them at Belvoire for feare of steinge awaye
 and beinge Reddene w'ith some hunters for
 x days and tene nyghtes at *iiijd.* a peice the
 daye and nyghte—*vjs. viijd.*/and for one peck
 of pees—*viijd.* *vjs. viijd.*

Paid the *xviiijth* of Octobre an'o 1591 to Robart
 howghe of Bottesforde Baker for towe weekes
 Bord of Mr. Garet Johusonne Toulme maker
 vidz. from the *xiiijth* of Septembre an'o 1591
 vnto the *xxviijth* of the same/at *ijs. iiijd.* the
 weeke *vjs. viijd.*

Paid the same day to the same Robart howghe
 for v. weekes borde of Mr. Garret his sonne
 and his towe men, vidz. from the said *xiiijth*
 of Septembre 1591 vnto the *xviijth* of
 Octobre at—*ijs. iiijd.* a piece the weeke *ls.*

1592. Charges of Inreicheinge the towe tov'mes in
 Bottesforth Church.

Paid the *xxiiijth* of february 1591 (1591-2) to
 John Mathewe of Nottingham Painter in
 pte for Inricheinge the *ij* tombes of the
 Earles deceased and of there Counteyseies
 and there Children lyinge in Bottesforthe
 Church *vjli. vjs. viijd.*

Paid the *iiijth* of April 1592, to John Mathewe
 of Nottingham in full paymente of twentye
 poundes for Inrichinge the towe tombes in
 Bottesforthe *xiiijli. xiijs. iiijjs.*

Charge of Conveyinge the grattes for *ij* tombes

Paid the *xjth* of July 1592, by thandes of Danyell
 Carpenter for the Conveyinge of the Iron
 grattes for the tombes from Gainesborowe to
 Newark by water *vijjs. viijd.*

Paid the same day also for the Conveyinge of the
 same grattes from the waterside to her L'pp
 Brewhowse at Newarke w'ith towe Cariages *xviijd.*

Paid also the same day in Rewarde to towe of her
 L'pp ten'ntes for feching the same from
 Newark to Bottesforthe *vijid.*/and for my
 owne charges beinge to sey the same loden
 and takyng accomptes thereof *vjd.* *xiiijd.*

Paid the *xiiijth* of Aweguste to the sexton beinge
 to sey the tombes at Bottesforthe by my La:
 Com'aundement *xijd.*

(A reward to the sexton of Bottesford Church when the Dowager Countess of Rutland viewed the tombs there.)

Paid the viijth of October by my La: com'aundm't in rewarde to John Mathewe for paintinge the tombes at Bottesforthe	xxs.
Paid the xijth of November 1592 to Nicholas Bottamley Smythe for settinge vpte the grattes aboute the tombes at Bottesforthe ...	xs.
Paid the xxij of November 1592 to John Mathewe of Nottingham for paintinge the Iron grate before the tombes at Bottesforthe	xxs.

The following Extracts and Indenture relate to the burial and Monument of Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, who died at Cambridge, 26 June 1612, and was buried in the Chancel of Bottesford Church, 22 July following; aged 35 years.

Payd y'e xiiijth of Julye, 1612, by thandes of Geo: Pight for wyne, for vyniger and for sev'all other p'uy'cons bought by him att Boston agaynst y'e funerrall	xlviij <i>li</i> . ijs. vjd.
Payd ye xvijth of July, 1612. by Mr. Sutton, to Certayne masones of Notts. for whiteinge sev'all places about ye castle of Belvoyre, as also for Crytche lyme xv: str. (strikes) at xvjd. a str. w'ch was done att and against ye funerrall	ii <i>li</i> . vijs.
Payd the xviiijth. of Julye. 1612. to sev'all masones and their laborrs, etc. for worke done att Belvoyre againste the fun'all ...	ii <i>li</i> . xs. viij <i>d</i> .
Payd the xxiiijth of Julie. 1612. p'ui'cons of fowle brought agaynst ye fun'all att Bellvoyr ...	xxviij <i>li</i> . vs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Payd the xxiiijth of Julie, 1612, by the handes of William Suttle of Boston for seu'all p'vi'cons of fowle, bought by him against ye fun'all...	ix <i>li</i> . iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Payd the same day by thandes of Mr. Sutton, for p'vi'cons of fowle against the funerrall ...	xlijs.
Payd ye xixth of Julye, 1612, by thandes of Mr. Sutton, for Ollyves and caps (capers)—xijs., for drinke for the boonns—xijd., ij stone of chalke—xijd., for pears—xd., ij strike of leather shreds for syse—ijs., for a Bacon flicke—ixs. vjd./iiij str. of salte—vijs. ijd., ij pcke of Oatemeale—iijjs., for 1000, of tenter- hookes—ijs., wryteing paper—xvjd., for ij ya'des of cloathe—xviij <i>d</i> ., for pynnes—ijs. iiij <i>d</i>	xlv <i>s</i> . viij <i>d</i> .
Payd the xxjth of Julye, 1612 by thandes of John King, for Rushes, for sylke &c., for thryd &c., bought against the fun'all ...	xxiijs. xd.

Payd the xxiiijth of Julye, 1612, by the hands of John Randon of Nottingham drap' for blacke cloathe boughte towards the furnyshinge of dyvers of his lo'p's servau'ntes and Retaynne's that waunted blacke against ye fun'all. Also for bayes cotton &c. ... xxxiiij^{li}. xvs. vjd.

Necessaries made and p'vided att and agaynste ye funerall.

Payd the xxviiijth day of Julye, 1612, by Mr. Sutton, viz., for tapes for Wyne—ij^d., 2000. of prickes (skewers?)—ijs., iiij skuttles—viij^d., kytchen pap'—ijs. viij^d., ix^{li}. Rosell—xviiiij^d., Cotton j yarde—viiij., ij q'ter of Salt—xxxjs., vjc. (600) of pearres—iij^s., strayne's ij—ijs., vj^{li}. of biskittes and Carrawayes—xs., Ollyves and Cap's—ijs. xd., to Pottifer of woolsthorp for mending ye steares—iij^s. iiij^d., for Isinglas, xvjd., for Resberryes and for gooseberryes—ijs., for herbes from Newarke—vjs. vjd., herbes from Sydebroock—ijs. ij^d.—payd my Lo'd Scroopes gard'ner for herbes—vs., payd also for peasse—iij^s. vjd. ... iiij^{li}. ijs.

Laborers woorke in the Backhowse at ye funerall.

Payd ye xxviiijth of Julie. 1612, by handes of Mr. Charles Sutton for worke done in the backhowse at ye tyme of ye funnerrall at Bellvoyre ... xxviijs.

ffunerall Weeke.

Payd the xxviiijth of Julie. 1612, by the handes of Mr. Charles Sutton for freash Acates (victuals) in ye funerrall weeke ... xliiiij^{li}. iij^s. xd.

Labo'es in the Kytchen and Scullerie at the funerrall at Bellvoy'r.

Payd the xxviith day of Julie, 1612, by thandes of Mr. Sutton, for woorke done in the kytchen and skullerie at Bellvoy'r at ye funerall, viz., to one fetchinge water iij dayes—ijs., to a woman for grateing breade iij dayes—ijs., Scoffeld of Bottesffoord and his boy 10 days in ye kitchen—viij^s. iiij^d., Hen: Sympson 4 dayes—ijs. vjd., wylli'm Pottifer iij dayes—ijs. vjd., Iho: Oxley vij dayes—iij^s. vjd., Richard Holis iij dayes—xviij^d., Thomas Barton ij dayes—xxd., Thom Burrowes iij dayes—xviij^d., to Thom Marsland 4 days—ijs. vjd., Willi'm flowar 4 days—iij^s., Abraham Allayne 4 days—ijs., Richarde Parker iij dayes—ijs. vjd., Antho: Castle iij dayes—xviij^d., John Sibbsie 3 dayes—xviij^d., another of Croxton iij dayes—xviij^d.,

Labourr of Knypppton 3—vj dayes—iij ^s ., Knowlles ij dayes—xij ^d ., ij other laborro'es j day—xij ^d ., fraunces Greene iij dayes— ijs. viij ^d ., Webster iij dayes—xx ^d ., ij slater- men (slaughter-men) 8 dayes 10s. ...	lixs. iij ^d .
Payd the sixt ^h of Julie. 1612, to Geo: Marrslannd plumber and Glaser for seu'all worke done agaynst the funerrall, at and about ye Castle of Bellvoyre ...	xlvijs. jd.
Payd the ix th of Julye, 1612, to Mr. Yates for rydeinge chardges to Cambridge to brynge his Lo:pps bodye from thence, beinge for the whole chardge of all that did accompanye ytt from Cambridge to Bellvoyer xxxviij ^{li} . xijs. viij ^d .	
Cambridge Jorney.	
Payd the last day of Julie. 1612, by thandes of Peet'r Walker, for ye rydeing chardges of the Honorable Lord Roger Late Erle of Rutt laund deceased, as well for chardges rydeing vp to Cambridge from Bellvoyr, as also the chardges of dyott there for ye whole tyme, and for chardges for ye Corppys broughte from thennce to Bellvoyer; wyth dyverres other chardges ...	302 ^{li} . 9 ^d .
Rewarrde—	
Gyven ye xvij th of Julye. 1612, to my Lo'd: Wylloughbyes Keep' of Grymsthorppe that brought a Stagge to Bellvoy'r, agaynst ye funerrall ...	xxs.
Gyven in doalls, ¹ to ye poor people of seu'all townes, as in Reward to theim, by my lords Comaundment, w'ch was dealt by Mr. Thorn- ton at ye fun'all Julye ye xxij th Anno. 1612	xxx ^{li} .

Presenntes against ye funerrall—

Payd by thandes of Mr. Charles Sutton to Mr. Harisons man, that brought 'ij swanns—ijs. vj ^d . To Mr. Hartopps man that brought a Bucke being for his fee and and for bringing yt—xijs. vj ^d ., Mr. Buttlers man, that brought also a Bucke for his fee and Reward—xijs. vj ^d ., Mr. Diggbies man that brought Harty- choakes—xij ^d	xxxiijs. vj ^d .
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¹ At the burial of Margaret, 1st wife of Sir George Vernon, of Haddon, who died in March, 1558, and was buried in the Vernon Chapel in Bakewell Church, the sum of £12 was distributed in doles, to 2,000 poor people of Bakewell and Haddon in amounts of 1^d., 2^d., and 4^d.

(Twenty-seven Cooks employed at the funeral preparations were rewarded with sums varying from 2s. to 20s. each.)

Gyven the xxixth day of Julie. 1612, in Reward to the Quoresters of Southwell, and others that did S'vyce (service) in the p'yshe Church of Bottsford in the Countye of Leicester, at ye fun'all of the Noble Lorde Rog'r late Earle of Rutlaund decesed, which Summ was delyverred to doctor flemman to bee beestowed xxli.

Bottsfoorde.

Gyven the same day by Will: Warren, to xvj men for their paynes for Ringinge at the funerrall xvjs.

On the funerall day was kept these tables followinge.

The large table for my lord and the mourners in the new great Chamber.

The stewards table in the hall by Mr Scriven.

The controulers table in the hall by Mr. Jephson.

The treasurers table in the hall by Mr. Vincent.

The clarkes table in the hall by Mr. Cha: Sutton.

The Heralds table in private.

Mourning gownes given at the funerrall, viz.

Belvoyre to old servantes	...	...	vj	
Knipton	...	j	Waltham	ij
Croxton Keryall	...	ij	Redmill	ij
Branson	...	ij	Barson	ij
Plungar	...	j	Stathorne	ij
Eaton ...	...	ij	Orson	ij
Musson	...	ij	Salthy	j
Botsforde	...	...	...	vj
Garradon	...	...	...	j
Brian the Lady Cars man	...	...	...	j
				36

It'm paid to Mr. Garter King at Armes in full of the seruices don by him and the heraltes at the funerall of the R' h'ble Roger Late Erle of Rutland solempnised 22 Julij, 1612, at Bottesford with iiij^{li}. for iiij yd. of Velvet lost, and xxs. to their men Cxlv^{li} vs.

Belvoyre./ A Checkrole of all servantes as well forraine and retain'es as Domesticall belonging to the Right hon'ble Roger Earle of Rutland taken the first of July anno 1612 against his Lo: ships funerall as followeth.

This roll contains the names of 210 persons, 58 of whom have the prefix of Mr., who were probably members of the household; also included is a list of clergy and chaplains, as follows:—

Clergie and chaplins.

Mr' Dtr' Fleming, Mr' Dr. Snowden,
 Dtr' p'son Vincent, Mr' p'son Barns,
 Mr' p'son Thornton, Mr. perso' Butteris,
 Mr' p'son Witherington, Mr' p'son Rest,
 Mr' Vicar Wheelwright.

This Indenture made the twentyeth daie of Maye anno D'ni 1611 and in the yeres of the reigne of our Sov'aigne Lord by the grace of god King of England Scotland fraunce and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. That is to say of England fraunce and Ireland the Sixteenth and of Scotland the one and flyftyth Betweene William Saxton of London gent. of the one part And Nicholas Johnson of the parish of St. Saviours in the Borough of Southwarke in ye Countie of Surrey Tombmaker of the other parte Witnesseth that the saide Nicholas Johnson for the considera'con hereafter in theis p'sents expressed and declared doth for him his executors and administrato'rs and assignes covenant promise and graunte to and w'th the saide William Saxton his executors administrato'rs and assignes by theis p'sents and to and w'th every of them in manner and forme following. That is to say Thatt the saide Nicholas Johnson his executors admynistrator's or assignes or some of them shall and will att or before the twentyth daie of Maie next comyng w'ch shalbe in the yere of our lord god one Thowsande six hundred and nyneteene well cleanye substantialye and workmanlye doe, make, sett vpp and fullye fynyshe in the parish church of Botsforth in the Countye of Leicester in such place in the north side of the Chappell there as the said William Saxton shall appoynte and sett forthe one Monument or Tombe for the righte honourable Roger late Erle of Rutland and the Countesse his late wife in such manner fashion and forme and of such stuffe according to the plott therof as is already drawen sett forth and shewen by the saide Nicholas Johnson to the saide William Saxton w'ch plott is now in the Custodie and Keeping of the saide William Saxton and is subscribed vnder the handes of the saide William Saxton and Nicholas Johnson And it is the trow entent and meanyng of both the saide parties to theis p'sents That all such Cullours as are to be culloured black in the said plot to be of Touchstone¹ in the saide Tombe And that all the white cullours therein to be of Allablaster And that all

¹ Touchstone, a kind of very hard black granite. The term was also applied to marble.

the Redd Cullours therin to be of Rance¹ And all the yellowe Cullours to be gylded wth rich golde, The height of w^{ch} said Tombe is to be sixteene foote of Assize from the bottom to the Topp, and in breadth tenne foot of Assize, from outside to outside, The fower Ranspellasters to conteyne in heighth each of them Two foote and six ynches, The two faire tables of Touch stone for inscrip^ons to conteyne two foote square a piece, The Ranspellaster betwixt them to conteyne in length two foote and a halffe and in bredth six ynches, Vpon the ledger to make the Portraiture of the said Countesse of Rutland in full propore^on as she was living in Robes of Honnor according to her degree, Aboue that to make the portraiture of the late Erle of Rutland in Robes of Honnor vnder an Arch vpon fower Pettystalls of Rance w^{ch} arch shall conteyne in depth two foote and a halffe to be inryched wth Roses and flowers and gyldinge w^{ch} cannot be expressed, Within that Arch one Compartment that shalbe carved wth frutages to enclose one Table of Touchstone for inscrip^on w^{ch} table shall conteyne in bredth two foote and in length two foote and a halffe wherin shalbe ingraven such inscrip^on as shalbe delivered by the said William Saxton to the above named Nicholas Johnson, The two Spandrells to be of Touch stone, on each side of the said Arch to make two culloms of touchstone to conteyne each of them in heighth wth their Capitall and base five foote, On the two vtter Culloms to make the portraiture of Labor, the other of Rest, Aboue the said Culloms to make the Architrath freeze and Cornishe, the freeze to be inlaide wth Touchstone and the Cornish to plansheere and to be inrichrd wth roses and flowers, aboue the Cornish to make one Course of Moulding to be one foot Highe and seaven foot in length to be inlaide wth Rance, On each side of the same to make one Piramydes of Rance to conteyne in length wth his base and ball three foote, Vpon the topp of the said Molding to make one Armes of the Right honourable the Erle of Rutland, wth a Helme, Crest and Supporters w^{ch} Armes to conteyne in heighth two foote and sixe ynches and in bredth two foote to be inclosed wth two pellasters of touch, to conteyne in heighth two foote and a halffe, On each side of the same to make two scutclins wherein shalbe engraven such Arms as shalbe deliv^{ed} to the said Nicholas Johnson, on the topp of the same to make one Cornish wth a pettystall of Rance wth a deathes hed and an hower glasse as is expressed in the said Plott All that which is shewed redd in the said Plott to be of Rance fairlie wrought and polished, All which is black in the said Plott to be of Touch stone and likewise fairly wrought and polished, And that which is yellow

¹ Rance. A kind of fine stone.

“with ivorie pillars mixt with jett and *rance*,
Rarer and richer than th’ old Carian’s was.”

Works of Du Bartas.

to be gylded wth fyne riche golde, and that which is white to be of Allablaster Except the two lower stepps to be of freestone, In consideracon of w^{ch} said tombe to be made fynished erected and sett vp in manner and forme aforesaid the said William Saxton for him his executo^{rs} administrators and assignes doe by theis presents covenant promise and graunte to and wth the said Nicholas Johnson his executo^{rs} adm^{strator's} and assignes That he the said William Saxton his executo^{rs} adm^{strator's} or assignes or some of them shall and will well and trulie paye or cause to be payde vnto the saide Nicholas Johnson hic executors admynyst^{rators} or assignes the full some of one hundred at flyf^{tye} poundes of lawful English money in manner and forme following That is to saye flyf^{tye} pounds thierof at thenscalling and delivery of theis p^{resents} vnto the said Nicholas Johnson well and trulie payde whereof the saide Nicholas Johnson doth hereby acknowledge him fullye selfe satisfied and the other hundred pounds residew to be paid w^{thin} thirte daies after the saide Tombe shall be fullie fynished and sett vp Provided alwaies and it is covenanted conditented and fullie agreed vpon by and betweene the said parties by theis p^{resents} That when the said Tombe is deli^{ed} at Boston in the Countie of Lyncoln at the costs and charges of the said Nicholas Johnson That then the said Tombe shalbe from thence carried to Botsforth aforesaid at the proper costes and charges of the said William Saxton his executors admynyst^{rators} or assignes. In witnes whereof the parties firste aboue named to theis p^{resent} Indentures their Seales either to other interchangeably have put yeoven the daye and yere firste aboue written

Nicholas Johnson

NOTE.—Probably this Nicholas Johnson was the son of Garret Johnson, who erected the tombs of the third and fourth Earls of Rutland in Bottesford Church, in 1591.





THE STATUTES OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

BY THE VERY REV. G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., DEAN OF DURHAM.

(*Read at the Newcastle-on-Tyne Congress, July, 1901.*)



THE Cathedral Chapter of Durham was founded, in 1541, on the ruins of a great Benedictine House.

The deed of surrender by Hugh Whitehead, the last Prior of Durham, is dated on the 31st of December, 1540, in the 31st year of the reign of Henry VIII; and this was followed by a Foundation Charter, 12th May, 1541, making Hugh Whitehead the first Dean, and creating the first twelve Prebendaries: so establishing the Cathedral Church of "St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Cuthbert the Bishop."

This was followed, only four days later, by a second Charter of Endowment, which created a wealth which in the end far exceeded that of any religious body in England. Henry VIII seems to have desired to make his Dean a great and wealthy man; for he endowed him with an amount (by the ancient *valor*) of £284 4s. 8d.; while each Prebendary had only £32 5s. 10d.—so that the Dean was more than eight (nearly nine) times as well paid as any of the Prebendaries.

It is not quite certain whether Henry drew up any body of Statutes for their governance; perhaps he trusted, but vainly, to the terms of his Charter. In this he says that he is now seized of the possessions of the Monastery, and desires to turn them to better account. "Because," he says, "we are full of the desire that true religion and the true worship of God shall be restored in the Cathedral, and reformed to the primitive or genuine rule of sincerity, instead of the monastic abuses then

unhappily prevailing; and we have, therefore, taken such care as man can take and foresee, that hereafter the teaching of Holy Writ, and the sacraments of our redemption, be purely and rightly administered; good moral life be encouraged; the young be instructed in liberal letters; the old be supported in their infirmity (specially if they have been in Our service), and the poor in Christ helped by alms; that the 'trinode necessity' be supported (roads, bridges, fortifications, service of warriors)—and all to the glory of God, and the welfare of the neighbourhood."

For this purpose he appoints the Cathedral to be the seat of the Bishop, and to be managed by a Dean, and twelve Prebendaries, all named; as a body corporate, with possessions and powers befitting. The King entrusts the appointment, correction, and deposition of all inferior officers to the Dean.

All this is fairly vague. Nothing whatever is said about rules of residence, etc., such matters apparently being taken for granted.

Under these two documents the new body corporate lived for a short while, probably with but little change of service or usage; also with a somewhat slack attendance to duty; so that, about twelve years later, Cardinal Pole, advising Queen Mary, proposed to create bodies of Statutes for Durham and for all the Cathedrals.

That Deans did not necessarily live much on their deaneries is illustrated, I may say in passing, by the history of Sir John Mason, the second Dean of Winchester, who was also Henry VIII's Master of Requests. He was appointed in 1549, a layman, "and with no pretension to an ecclesiastical benefice."

He was chiefly employed abroad—in almost every European country—a married man, a Roman Catholic and a Dean—"a pliant Roman Catholic"—"and one of such service to all parties, and observing such moderation, that everyone thought him his own." He was also M.P., and Chancellor of Oxford University.

It is even doubtful whether he ever resided at Winchester. Did he ever take part in the services?

And Cardinal Pole gives us to understand that Durham was similarly neglected. Burns, *Ecclesiastical Law*,

quoting Godolphin (p. 367), says: "the Dean may be a layman; as was the Dean of Durham, by special licence and dispensation from the king; but this is rare, and a special case, and is not common and general, and therefore not to be brought as an example." This layman was probably Andrew Newton, Knight and Baronet; he made the canon of the twelfth stall his proxy, A.D. 1606-1620; or perhaps it was W. Whittingham, who was in Genevan Orders only. And Dr. Watson (chap. 14) says: "Though in former days a layman might have taken a title to a deanery, yet now, by 13 and 14 Chas. II, 2, cap. 4, a person must have priest's orders to qualify him."

In the Commission issued by Philip and Mary, for the revision of Cathedral Statutes, much doubt is thrown on this earlier foundation. "Seeing that the Cathedral Church of Durham is as yet very scantily established on Laws and Statutes, without which no house or city can stand long. . . . We have appointed, for the making of Statutes therein Nicholas (Heath), Archbishop of York elect, Edmund (Bonner), Bishop of London, Cuthbert (Tonstall), Bishop of Durham, Thomas (Thirlby), Bishop of Ely, and Wm. Ernysted [Armitstead], the King's Chaplain, to undertake the task." And then he adds: "We have given them power by our letters patent to supervise, change, correct, and edit the old Statutes of this Cathedral, *if there are any extant*." It seems clear from this that no Statutes, properly so called, were then known.

This was undertaken under the terms of an Act of Parliament, 2nd April, 1554, giving Queen Mary the power to make Statutes and Ordinances for the governance of collegiate churches and cathedrals.

This Act declares that Henry VIII's Charters or Statutes were not duly *indented*, so that they were without authority; and also that the late King gave them for his own lifetime and no more; so that there was a doubt whether they would be valid in the next reign. Queen Mary, therefore, declares that an Act of Parliament is needed to confirm them all. She was not so masterful as her father.

This was the pretext set up by Parliament for an Act to be passed for confirmation of Statutes.

There was, however, underneath it a feeling that the Cathedral bodies were not doing their duty faithfully ; and this Cardinal Pole tells us, in his *Reformatio Angliæ*, fol. 11, 12, Decretum III : "as we see that there are many who, taking the emoluments of these dignities and offices, are absent from their churches, and take no trouble about them, to the mighty damage of these churches ; so, to compel them to do their duty, we order, by stricter Statutes of such churches and colleges, that henceforward all Deans, Provosts, and other dignitaries of cathedral and collegiate churches shall be present and do their proper duty to the same."

He adds that the churches are all but reduced to a solitude : canons, too, are ordered to keep residence in future.

The upshot of this Act is the creation of that body of Statutes, under which we still are ruled.

These Statutes are dated 20th March, 1555. And in them we have the only Statutes of an English cathedral issued by a Roman Catholic Queen. It is obvious that Queen Mary intended to issue Statutes at any rate for all the Cathedrals of the New Foundation. Her life, however, was drawing fast to an end ; and there are indications that these Durham Statutes were not altogether satisfactory to their authors ; probably, it was felt that some delay was proper, before this Durham body of Statutes was taken as the pattern, *mutatis mutandis*, for all the rest. The list of "Loca in Statutis reformata," etc., to be found at the end of the Code, is evidently unfinished ; it is probable that it was never sanctioned by any competent authority ; and it is certainly the case that the Queen never issued any further commission for Statutes, and that the Durham Statutes are unique. In fact, we are the only Protestant community which is ruled by distinctly Roman Catholic Statutes.

At the opening of Convocation, Pole gave the following instruction :—

"Deinde voluit rev^{ssimus} statuta ecclesiarum noviter erectarum et mutatarum a regularibus ad seculares expendi (! expandi) per Episcopos Lincolniensem, Cicestrensem,

etc., et quæ consideranda sunt referri Rev^{mo}: quam primum commode poterunt."

But the Queen died, and nothing more was done (Burns' *Ecclesiastical Law*, I, p. 456).

And how do we get over this difficulty ?

In the first place, the blessed rule of custom comes in ; and men have dropped inconvenient usages. I am not a lover of ceremony, nor do I want to be treated with excess of honour. Still, it would be nice to feel that my brethren recognised, in the words of the Statutes, that "the Dean's power and jurisdiction is supreme, touching the government of the Church. He shall hear all causes relative to the Chapter, and, assisted by their opinions, determine therein ; he shall correct excesses, and reprehend all obstinate offenders. He shall invest the Prebendaries, and take their oaths. Being superior in authority, all shall rise up when he enters or departs from the choir or Chapter House. He is first in place and voice. The ringing of bells must wait on him, morning and evening, or on festivals, when he is to perform the offices ; not at other times, unless he takes the Mass. On such days he is to chant the anthems, or such of the canons as he shall appoint therefor. In reading the service he shall not quit his seat. . . . All the ministers of the Church shall bow to him in his stall, as they enter the choir or depart from it."

It would be too painful for me to have to tell you how far these beautiful usages have gone out. And it is the same with many another and more important instruction.

And next, we have the Act of Queen Anne 6, "for avoiding doubts and questions touching the Statutes of divers cathedrals and collegiate churches." It has at the end a restrictive clause—"Nevertheless, so far forth only as the same or any of them are in no manner repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the constitutions of the Church of England, as it is now by law established, or the laws of the land." So that here peep in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Act of Uniformity ; and the order to perform certain Masses, and to do certain things in honour of the Virgin Mary, are hereby ruled out.

Our Statutes are said to have been duly signed by

the four Commissioners, but were never issued under the Great Seal.

Still, the usage of three hundred and fifty years has, no doubt, made them in every way valid and binding. The most remarkable thing about these Statutes is the fact that, not only has the original been lost, but, till quite lately, the oldest copy known to be in existence was that belonging to the Deanery, transcribed by Mr. Viner between the years 1744-1777, as it is dedicated to Dean Dampier, who was Dean only for those three years.

There appears to have been at that time an earlier copy in the Dean's possession, for the title of Mr. Viner's transcript says:—"Hoc exemplar Statutorum ejusdem Ecclesiæ cum authentico Decani manuscripto fideliter collatum."

He unfortunately adds nothing respecting this "authentic MS." of the Dean. He might have thrown some light on the difficult question.

Anyhow, when in 1894 I entered on my duties as Dean of Durham, this copy of Mr. Viner, which was handed over to me by my predecessor, Dean Lake, was the oldest copy known of these unique Statutes.

Nor have we any MS. or copy of any kind of King Henry VIII's Statutes. They, I suppose, did not differ much from Queen Mary's, except that Pole was more anxious than Henry had been for the reading of scripture, the preaching of sermons, and the education of youth. Some even think that they never really took the form of Statutes.

One thing is quite certain: neither the original of Henry VIII's Statutes, nor of those of Queen Mary, can now be found. I have searched carefully for them, with but partial success. About three years ago, when I was on my way to visit friends in a house on the Embankment in London, I found myself with an idle half-hour on my hands. It occurred to me, as I was close to Lambeth Palace, to pay a visit to the archiepiscopal Library, and inquire whether it contained any documents bearing on Durham, and, more particularly as to the Statutes. My kind friend the librarian, Mr. Kershaw,

brought me a volume of *Collectanea*, and in this I soon found myself looking at a MS. which turned out to be a copy of the Marian Statutes of Durham, made for Cardinal Pole at Lambeth, in July, 1556.

At the end of it we read : “ Facta collatione concordat cum originali libro ad patrem Rev. Dⁿ Reginaldum Card. Legatum a latere et archiepiscopum Cantuariensem primate totius Angliæ remanentem ; ” and, after that : “ Considerantes tempora ultimi seisinatis omnibus ornamentis spoliata ecclesiam stipendium parvum (?) admodum ministris hujus Ecclesiæ per statuta assignari, in cujus rei aliquantulum sublevamen nos Decanus et Capituli communi et universali consensu 20 (?) Julii a. s. MDLVI in generali capitulo nostro Dunelmensi statui-mus et decrevimus, ut quicumque,” etc.

This early copy of 1556 is the first trace we have of the original MS. ; and a note in *Hutchinson*, vol. ii, p. 139, throws a dim light on this point :—

“ Anthony Salvyn, one of the prebendaries, was sent up as proxy for the Chapter of Durham, to appear before Cardinal Pole and the Queen’s Commissioners, the 30th of Oct., 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, when the corrective Statutes were made. It is said the originals were kept by the Cardinal, and by him sent to Rome, for they never came back again, and in all probability are now in the Vatican.”

And Bishop Cosin and the Dean and Chapter, in 1665, agreed to make enquiries at the Rolls, or the Tower, or any of the King’s Courts, “ within a twelvemonth after it hath pleased God to cease the present pestilence.”

And Dr. Basire presently replied to the Chapter, as follows : “ I took the pains to cause a search to be made in the Rolls, but found nothing. The like I did with Mr. Dugdale, when he was searching the records of the dioceses and the records of St. Paul’s Church ; and, to encourage him I gave him a gratuity from the Dean and Chapter, but sped no better. What may be found in the Tower I know not, having had neither time nor opportunity to search there ; Mr. Wm. Prynne (no great friend to cathedrals) being the keeper of these records.”

When I was in Rome in the spring of 1899, I took advantage of an old acquaintance with Mr. Wm. Bliss, who is engaged in the Vatican Library copying from the Rolls, and so an old *habitué* of the Vatican Library, to get an introduction to the inner world of that great library. I found much courtesy, and, what was worth still more, some admirable catalogues, which, so far as they went, convinced me that my desired MS. did not lie on the surface of the Vatican stores. No one who desires to write on Durham can do it worthily without a good stay at Rome. There is one heading of those catalogues, "*Ecclesia Dunelmensis*," which makes the mouth water! There are mines of information there about the pre-Reformational Bishops, etc., but of Pole's MSS. no trace.

An English Jesuit gentleman, whom I met there, kindly took an interest in the subject. He told me that, in all probability, those documents were sent to Italy by the hand of Niccolò Ormaneto, then Pole's secretary, afterwards a bishop in Italy, and a channel of communication with Rome; and also that Ormaneto might have left the papers either at Padua or Verona.

These two interesting cities I also visited, and searched the three libraries of Padua, and also the Cathedral library of Verona—all in vain.

The only thing I could do was to beseech Mr. Bliss to keep an open eye, in his work in the Manuscript Rooms of the Vatican, for anything bearing on Durham or the lost MS. And with this slender hope remaining, I desisted.

The MS. I discovered at Lambeth is all that brings us near the origin of things. It is therefore valuable, though but a rather careless copy of the original.

At the end of the Statutes we have a list of "*Corrigenda et Emendanda*;" as to which it is hard to say whether or not they ever secured authority. They look as if Pole had been anxious to make these Durham Statutes as perfect as he could, before issuing them as patterns for all other cathedrals. At any rate, the discovery of the Lambeth MS. proves that the Queen and Pole were still at work on the document close to the tragic end of their lives. When they were swept away, almost at the same time, their work stood still. "The

corrections and additions were made 30th December, 1556, but by what authority is not known."

Here, then, we stand still. The Marian Statutes were, in accordance with Pole's wishes, a striking advance on their predecessors, whether we look at Henry's charter or his supposed Statutes. The later code recognises the authority of Parliament; and not solely the royal prerogative. Mary significantly omits the oath of the King's supremacy; by which she seems to have wished to undo what Henry had done against the Papal supremacy. The whole tendency of her Statutes is strongly in the direction of a reformed Romanism. One sees the influence of Cardinal Pole everywhere.

Henry exalted in every way the Dean's power: the Marian Statutes limited it, in a wholesome way, and gave less chances for tyranny, though more for inaction thereby; and they also insisted on the duty of preaching the Gospel, and making the dignities and wealth of the body a reality. They also, in the paper of Corrections, directed that the Grammar scholars should be chosen according to their progress in learning, and not merely on eleemosynary grounds. Residence was put on a surer footing: it was the scandal of the beginnings of capitular government; the great churches were as deserts, and no spiritual work going on. The new Statutes insisted, with an unanswerable argument, on residence. And, singularly enough, the Dean (who in no other cathedral is so limited) is held to be bound to keep three weeks of "close residence" in each year. It is nowhere distinctly ordered; but in one passage of the Statutes, cap. xvi, he is referred to as being "present;" and in this "Residentes" are described: "*qui ad minimum dies xxi continuos quotannis in ecclesia Cathedrali divinis officiis juxta normam statutorum intersunt et familias ibidem alunt;*" and then, at the close of C. XVI, after giving the Dean leave of absence for Bearpark, it goes on: "*dummodo illic (sc. Bearpark) hospitalitatem more residentium servet et pro singulis diebus illis uni horæ canonicæ vel missæ majori ac tractandis in capitulo intersit negotiis; ac etiam ante vel post dies xxi continuos in ecclesia Cathedrali residentium servaverit.*"

The Dean is now bound by Act of Parliament to reside for eight months, leaving the manner of residence quite open.

In these matters our present Statutes deserve much praise. They contain many things quite obsolete; they cannot solve the greatest question—What is the value of such institutions? And what do they achieve by way of furthering simple religion and godliness in a diocese? Or we may ask: How far do they help the Bishop in his efforts for good? And what do they contribute towards a learned clergy? And are they refuges in which irregular yet pious minds have shelter? There are many such questions, to which I can give no answer. The efficiency of religion has not always been much advanced by such bodies. On the other hand, we have known cases in which the Cathedral Chapter has stood for an advance, in the midst of a reluctant world.

At least, let me end by saying, that in such havens men have some shelter from the wild competitions and hurrying rush of modern life: houses let them be of grave meditation, of peace and goodwill, and a recognition of the blessed message of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.



British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONGRESS,

AT

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 1901.

THURSDAY, JULY 18TH, TO WEDNESDAY, JULY 24TH.

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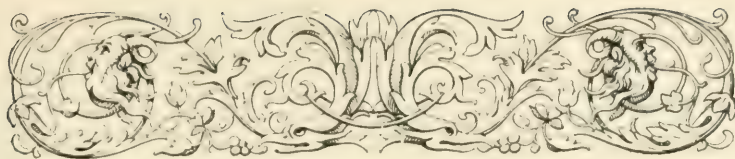
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Proceedings of the Congress.

THURSDAY, JULY 18TH, 1901.

THE fifty-eighth Annual Congress of the above Association opened at Newcastle on Thursday, July 18th, in splendid weather—if anything, a trifle too tropical—and there was a good attendance of members and friends. At eleven o'clock the members of Congress gathered in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, where they were received by the Mayor and Corporation of the city. In his address of welcome the Mayor referred to the labours of the late Mr. Collingwood Bruce on the Roman wall, and to his monument in the Cathedral; and mentioned that through him, and others belonging to the neighbourhood, who were formerly members, the city of Newcastle was not unconnected with the Association, although this was its first official visit. He went on to describe the Corporation Plate, etc., of which the remains were displayed for inspection, and regretted that there was not more to show; but unfortunately the greater part had been sold by auction, or otherwise dispersed by the “reformed” Corporation, about 1832, in the days of their early iconoclastic zeal. Among the remaining possessions are a handsome silver-gilt Loving Cup, dated 1681, three swords and scabbards of eighteenth-century workmanship, and seven silver maces of different dates, out of twelve, the original number of the Sergeants-at-Mace.

After a few words of welcome from the Sheriff, the President of the Association for the year, Dr. Thos. Hodgkin, F.S.A., the well-known author of *Italy and her Invaders*, and the successor of Dr. Bruce as the authority on the Roman wall, returned thanks to the Mayor and Corporation for their welcome. He said it was to be much regretted that more of old Newcastle had not been preserved, but still enough was left for them to be able to judge of the appearance of the ancient town, and archaeologists must not be too querulous because the march of material prosperity, of which evidences may be seen on all sides in Newcastle, carries away so much of the past, which, in their eyes, is all-important.

The Town Clerk then exhibited three out of the thirty ancient Charters of Newcastle which still exist. These were, one of James I, and two of Charles II. The latter contains excellent portraits of that monarch in the eighteenth and thirtieth years of his reign—1665 and 1679.

A move was then made to the Church of St. Nicholas, the old Parish Church of Newcastle, now called the Cathedral. This was described by Mr. Thos. Blashill, V.-P., who drew special attention to the severe and unadorned character of its architecture. The whole of the exterior was renewed about thirty years ago by Sir Gilbert Scott, but with that exception the present church belongs to the fourteenth century. It rose on the site of a previous church, which had been consecrated by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, and nephew of the Conqueror, in 1091, and was destroyed by fire in 1216. This again stood on the site of the small stone church which had succeeded the first wooden church of Anglian days, and that had been erected on the spot where, in the seventh century, the first preacher of the Gospel had planted a wooden cross, and baptized those of the rude Northumbrians who would listen to them in a spring which is supposed still to exist under the west tower.

Of the earlier church there is a portion of a thirteenth-century pier and capital, remaining in the easternmost pier of the northern nave arcade; this is embedded in the later pier, but at the recent restoration it was left exposed to view.

An illustration of the severity of the style adopted in this church may be seen in the fact that the piers of the arcades rise sheer up into the spring of the arch, with no capital, and not even a fillet. This gives a curious effect, but it is not uncommon in Northumberland.

The present nave, choir, and transepts belong to the fourteenth century; the nave is said to have been completed in 1359, the choir in 1369. The windows are for the most part later insertions, belonging to the fifteenth century. The glory of the church of St. Nicholas is its tower at the west end. Originally, the church had only a square tower, with open battlements, but in the middle of the fifteenth century a lawyer of Newcastle, Robert de Rhodes, built the present magnificent perpendicular steeple, with its imperial crown at the summit. From the pavement to the top of the lantern it is nearly 200 ft. high, and is divided into three stages, the lowest of which forms the vestibule to the church, and is covered with a richly-groined vault, bearing the inscription "Orate pro animâ Roberti Rodes." The font, with a very beautiful carved canopy, was also the gift of the same munificent donor, and contains his arms on the panels. Mr.

Blashill told a curious story, showing the ingenious device to which the preservation of the steeple is due. During the Civil War, when the Scotch were besieging Newcastle, their commander planted his cannon and threatened to destroy the church: whereupon the English general placed some Scotch prisoners, whom he happened to have, on the top of the tower, and told the Scotch to begin!

The oldest monument in the church is that of a cross-legged knight of the time of Edward I, generally supposed to be Peter de Mauley, Earl Marshal, who died in 1307. The costume agrees with that period, and Edward II paid his funeral expenses at his burial in St. Nicholas. In the south transept is a fine monument to the Maddison family, erected between 1635 and 1640, which has been often described.

St. John's Church, a good building, was next visited and described by Mr. C. Lynam, F.S.A. The date of its erection is uncertain, but it is mentioned in a charter of 15 Edward I, and in its pointed arches it bears evident traces of the early Decorated style, which was beginning to prevail at the end of the reign of Henry III.

After an adjournment for lunch, the Castle was visited under the guidance of Mr. Cadwallader Bates, who was waiting for the party in the Great Hall of the Keep, and they were conducted through the building from top to bottom by him and Mr. R. Oliver Heslop, F.S.A. The chapel, with the elegant late-Norman mouldings of its arches and arcades, was especially admired, and the vaulting of the basement, resting on a noble central column, also attracted much attention. On reaching the lower hall, now used as the library, Mr. Bates said he would take the opportunity to say a few words on the general character of the keep and other mediæval castles that they were likely to visit during their excursions in Northumberland. The ignorant idea that a Norman keep ought to be completely isolated was responsible for the destruction of the entrance tower at the bottom of the external stair and bailey wall at Newcastle, as also of the gateway in the inner ward at Bamborough. A rectangular keep was, he believed, always built within an area enclosed already by a curtain-wall, at any rate. If the inner ward of a castle was not sufficiently large for a great tower to be built inside it, it formed itself what had come to be called a shell-keep. They would see some of the earliest Norman masonry in Northumberland, with the characteristic small square stones in the curtain at Alnwick; the ashlar of Bishop Flambard's work, A.D. 1121, in the keep of Norham, resembled this, and was the first dated piece of military architecture they could point to, after the *balistarium* erected at Bremenium, in Redesdale, under Heliogabalus in A.D. 220. For the intervening nine hundred years there was nothing but the magnificent

natural basalt walls of Bamborough, with the ever-sacred well there. The longer stones of the keep of Bamborough showed that it was appreciably later than that of Norham, and made it probable that like that of Carlisle it was the work of Henry II, after his resumption of the Northern counties in A.D. 1157. The keep of Newcastle was known to have been built 1172-1177, and had many points of resemblance with that of Dover, which was erected a few years later, and cost £100 less. These keeps relied on their passive strength for resistance, and can only have been used as residences for a very short period; a tendency soon set in to build more commodious domestic buildings in the courtyards at their feet, and to place, on the outer curtain, towers pierced by giant loops, through which arrows and bolts could be effectively discharged at besiegers. They would find remains of the early thirteenth-century kitchen, hall, guest-chamber, and chapel, at Warkworth, and would admire the *meurtrières* of the great gateways and the towers there known by the quaint names of Cradyfergus and the Grey Mare's Tail. The change from the pentagon to the semicircle for bastions of this class might be noticed in the Black Gate of Newcastle, a work of A.D. 1248, with very beautiful vaulting in its side-lodges. If their visit to Corbridge included Aydon Castle, they would find a hall and chambers arranged in an inner ward, so as to approach again to the idea of a keep; and this tower-like arrangement of the hall and chamber was yet more strikingly illustrated at Haughton, on the North Tyne. At Dunstanburgh, on the wild coast, everything had been at first concentrated on the immense gate-house, though the passage of this was afterwards walled up so as to form what was really a keep. The transformation of the Vesci stronghold at Alnwick into an Edwardian castle was the work of the second Percy there, A.D. 1321-1358. It included the erection of the stately barbican and gate-house, of numerous detached towers on the curtain, and of a cluster of domestic buildings in the inner ward, in place of the earlier ones in the middle ward. They were to visit Flodden, under the guidance of their President, who would describe to them the real battle of Branxton Field in sonorous prose, that would make them forget the brilliant phantasmagoria of "Marmion;" and on this occasion they would see at Etal (A.D. 1341), how with a single courtyard, entered by a fine gate-house, still retaining the peacock crest of Manners, one of the corner towers had assumed the dimensions of a keep. The same had been the case at Ford (A.D. 1338). Widdrington, a tower built in A.D. 1341, and wantonly demolished in A.D. 1775, was so beautiful that Buck's view of it deserved to be framed in crape; and Belsey and Chipchase were almost its equals. Langley was the

largest of these tower-houses that either stood above or dwarfed their subsidiary defences. In this they were quite unlike Norman keeps; their residential character, too, was unquestionable. The most elaborate development of a tower-house was the donjon of Warkworth, built possibly on older foundations: there, from internal evidence, aided by an inventory recently discovered, the use of nearly every room could be ascertained, and the plan was extraordinarily complex. The large tower-houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and the lesser ones such as that they would see at Corbridge, were to be distinguished from the "peles" or strong-houses that were spread over the Border in the wild times of the sixteenth century. The basement of many of these were indeed regularly occupied by cattle. It was at one time the practice to jeer at

"An Allendale squire
With his parlour above his byre."

The misrule in Northumberland in the reign of Elizabeth, and the deplorable state to which the country was reduced by Scottish forays, actually gave rise to a project for building a wall along the whole frontier, in imitation of the Roman one.

After Mr. Bates' address the visitors thoroughly explored the keep, admiring the remains of Henry II's beautiful Transitional Norman work.

On the roof is a remarkable sundial, dated 1667, consisting of an oblong block of stone, poised on a pedestal at an angle of 45 deg., and marked for telling the time on the top, the two sides, and at both ends. This is figured in Mrs. Gatty's *Book of Sundials* (1900), p. 442.

Mr. Heslop, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, next took charge of the party, and conducted them to the Trinity House, belonging to the Guild of Master Mariners, and erected in the sixteenth century. Here there is some fine carving to be seen on the seats in the chapel.

Some of the visitors now found the heat of the day too oppressive for further exertions, and accordingly accompanied Dr. Hodgkin to the Black Gate, where he described the unique collection of Roman altars from the Wall, and other antiquities which it contains. Meanwhile, the more energetic members followed Mr. Heslop in a walk round the circuit of the walls of mediæval Newcastle. These have, for the most part, disappeared; but the line may be clearly traced, and several of the towers, and in one place on the west side, a considerable portion of the wall itself, still exist. It is to be hoped these remains may be carefully preserved, but it is more than doubtful, as all are now in private hands.

In the course of this walk the Church of St. Andrew, perhaps the oldest in the town—tradition assigns its erection to King David of Scotland—was inspected. The chancel arch looks like late Norman work, but it has been raised to its present height in later times. The arch itself, however, with its dogtooth mouldings, may date from the same time as the nave, arcade, and lower part of the tower, viz., 1175-81. The site of the Dominican monastery, which abutted on the wall, and dates from 1240, was also visited. This is now covered with small and mean houses, but the Cloister Garth may be clearly distinguished; and it was here, and not at the Castle, that John Balliol, King of Scotland, did homage to Edward III of England, in 1334. The gardens of the monastery were outside the wall, through which they were approached by a gateway, which the friars were bound by charter to build up in time of war. This charter is dated 1280, which gives the date of the wall, and in 1312 Edward II granted license for a drawbridge to be made, which gives the date of the moat.

In the evening, a largely-attended conversazione was given by the President, in the Durham College of Science. In the course of it a meeting was held, with the Bishop of Newcastle in the Chair, at which Dr. Hodgkin delivered his inaugural address. This Paper is printed on pp. 1-16.

FRIDAY, JULY 19TH, 1901.

On Friday morning, the members of Congress and friends took train for Alnwick, whence they drove to the remains of the Carmelite Priory of Hulne, situated in the midst of the Duke of Northumberland's beautiful park. The weather was as oppressive as ever, notwithstanding one or two thunderstorms. The drive through the park, with the scenery diversified by the stream of Alne, was particularly grateful after the stifling heat of the previous day in Newcastle. Hulne Priory, situated on an eminence overlooking the river, and buried in the heart of the forest, was described by Mr. Geo. Patrick, Hon. Sec. This Paper will be published.

After listening to the Paper and viewing the ruins, the party returned to Alnwick (passing the interesting Premonstratensian Abbey of Alnwick *en route*), where they were entertained to lunch by the Duke of Northumberland, the Patron of this Congress.

After lunch, Mr. Bates met the party at the barbican, and, assisted by Mr. Kyle, the constable, led them through the principal parts

of the Castle. The time was too short for a connected address. He reminded them that the first definite mention of a castle at Alnwick was in A.D. 1136, and of this the square Norman ashlar in portions of the curtains were no doubt remains. The handsome Norman arches, now embedded in the gate-house of the inner ward, were only a little latter in date. The greater part of the Castle as it stood previous to the alterations begun by Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, under the advice of Mr. Salvin in 1854, was the work of the second Percy at Alnwick, and the shields carved on the octagonal towers of the inner gate-house showed that this part was finished in about A.D. 1350. The domestic buildings in the inner ward had been transformed internally into a ducal palace. Mr. Bates mentioned incidentally that six thousand prisoners sent by Cromwell from Dunbar were confined in the inner ward for eight days, during which time three thousand of them died from starvation and disease. Mr. Hodgkin remarked that Cromwell was a great general, and knew the necessities of war. Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, F.S.A., kindly called attention to the principal treasures in the magnificent library under his charge. In the dining-hall that occupies the site of the original Percy hall, a slight halt was made, owing to a passing shower, and this gave Mr. Bates an opportunity to explain that the family portraits begin with Thomas Percy, the seventh earl of Northumberland, who was beheaded at York in 1572, in consequence of his having joined in the rising of the North, three years before, in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. The present Duke has recently acquired the original portrait of the tenth earl, by Vandyke. This was the great Parliamentary admiral, the rival of Manchester and Essex. His son Jocelyn, the eleventh earl, died at Turin in 1671, leaving an only daughter, who married the proud Duke of Somerset, and their granddaughter brought Alnwick to Sir Hugh Smithson, the representative of the Cavalier and Catholic baronets of Stanwick in the North Riding. The Patron of the present Congress is the tenth baronet and seventh Duke.

Warkworth was reached after a delightful drive, but the lateness of the hour and gathering clouds rendered the visits to the Church and the Hermitage impossible. Mr. Bates at once led the party through the postern of the Castle and across the courtyard to the front of the main gateway. This he characterised as a very fine work of the early thirteenth century, with its semi-octagon towers and buttresses, it belonged to a style half-way between the keep of Newcastle with its polygonal angle and the Black Gate. The *menutrières* are not quite so prominent to view as in the contemporary

"Crakefurgus," with south-west corner tower, much of which has fallen down the steep bank of the Coquet, or, in the typical tower on the east curtain known as the "Grey Mare's Tail." It might be that the first English settlers on the coast had cut the ditch across the neck of the peninsular that fell away down the one street to the church and bridge from the high mound, perhaps also their work, that was now crowned by the donjon; but Warkworth was, it would seem, still further from the sea in those days than since the Coquet broke out a new channel in A.D. 1765. "*Le chastel iert fieble, le mur et le terrier,*" we are told in 1173. The bridge over the Coquet was built in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The chapel, the foundations of which can be traced in a garden between this and the parish church of St. Lawrence, possibly belonged to a cell of the Premonstratensian Order. The castle had, in addition to the main gate-house, two posterns, one of the earliest Pointed style, on the precipitous bank of the Coquet, and the other in the west side of the donjon; there was also a doorway, connected with the mediæval garden, near the south-east or Montagu Tower, built no doubt by John Nevil, the brother of the king-maker, while he was Earl of Northumberland in the reign of Edward IV. The curtain between this tower and the gate-house was rebuilt in 1534, and again more recently. It had been intended to carry a small cruciform church, in the Late Perpendicular style, across the end of the lower ward; the great length of the choir, which rests on vaults and an arched subway, marks its collegiate character. The hall, built against the west curtain in the beginning, seems to have had an aisle added to it by the middle of the thirteenth century, and the remains of the windows of this are considerably later. The great chamber, with a skilfully-joggled Decorated fireplace, occupied the floor over the cellars at the upper end of the hall. Between this and the gate-house, on the ground level, was the east chapel, with a very plain piscina. The shattered tower, with the delicately-ribbed vaulting and the spiral stair-turret, was added by the Percies to provide better access to the Great Chamber; it was not a chapel, and had received the name of "Crady Fergus" in error. The hall was entered by a magnificent porch, near the angle formed by the collegiate church, and called the Lion Tower, from the great beast half-seated on a stone shelf over the entrance; round his neck is the Percy crescent, charged with the motto "*Esperance*;" above are shields, with the old Percy fusils and the Lucy fish, and the right-hand badge on the cornice is the Herbert bascule, known to have been borne by the fourth Earl of Northumberland towards the close of the fifteenth century, in honour of his wife. The keep, or "high house," of which the exact date is not

known, occupies the mound dominating the town. The entrance, and some of the upper rooms, were renovated by Salvin.

Roughly speaking, the place was a square with a semi-octagon applied near the centre of each front, but hardly any wall in it is parallel. The hall has a tall oriel at the upper end, and the three usual doorways at the lower leading to the pantry, to the buttery (in the vaults below), and the kitchens. The outer kitchen has an oven and circular boiler set on either side of the fire-place; the inner one has two huge cavernous fire-places. The hall communicated directly with the chapel, with five traceried windows in its semi-octagonal chancel, and a wide sedile under a four-cusped arch. The western half of the chapel had an upper floor, with a fireplace for the lord and his family. On the south side is a priest's chamber, with a "squint" in the direction of the altar. Provision was also made for kneeling in front of this, in passing from the lower end of the hall to the great chamber, small low windows being expressly inserted on either side of the open wall left in the centre of the keep, for light and air, and to collect the water from the roof. Immediately inside the portcullised entrance of the keep was a pit, 16 ft. deep, formed in excellent ashlar, into which unwelcome intruders could be precipitated by withdrawing the bolts supporting the wooden floors. The castle and manor of Warkworth were granted by Henry II to Roger fitz-Richard, grandson of Eustace fitz-John, the builder of Alnwick Castle, by his second marriage; it remained for five generations in the hands of his family, who after calling themselves "de Baliol," "de Corbrug," etc., at last settled down to the surname of Clavering. The Vescis, the Lacis, and the Eures, were all of the same male line. John de Clavering exchanged the reversion of Warkworth at his death with Edward II for a life-interest in lands in Norfolk and elsewhere, and Edward III granted this reversion, which took effect in 1332, to the second Percy of Alnwick, in lieu of a payment from the customs of Berwick. The two first Percys of Warkworth showed their love of the place, not only by living, but by both dying there. The great scene in the history of Warkworth was its bombardment by Henry IV, on 28th June, 1405. The king had taken a personal interest in the manufacture of artillery [Dr. Hodgkin remarked that the same was the case a little later with James III of Scotland]. After the seventh discharge, the captain of the castle and his company cried "Merci!" It was then confiscated, and, after many vicissitudes, has remained in the uninterrupted possession of the Percy family since 1574. The late Duke of Northumberland, George Algernon, had a very elaborate plan of the whole building made in 1899, and did everything that

kindness and generosity could do to encourage the study of its history.

After as thorough an inspection of the interesting and extensive ruins of this fine monument of antiquity as time permitted, the party returned to Newcastle by train.

At the evening Meeting two very interesting Papers were read, the first by the Rev. Caesar Caine, on "The Archiepiscopal Mint at York." This Paper was illustrated by casts of the coins described, and will be published.

The second Paper was by the Rev. F. S. Colman, on some prehistoric earthworks which exist in his parish of Barwick-in-Elmet, Yorks. These cover fifteen acres, and are of two distinct periods: the earlier, a large circular earthwork, forming the outer court of the whole, being probably of British origin; the latter, forming the inner court and mound, being probably mediæval.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15TH, 1902.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Sir Harry Stapley, Bart., 15, Albion Street, Hyde Park, W.
F. G. Sage, Esq., The Meadows, Claygate, Surrey.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

*To the Royal Dublin Society for "Transactions," Pts. 8-13 ; and for
"Proceedings," vol. ix., Pts. 3 and 4.*
,, Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report, 1900."
,, S. W. Kershaw, Esq., F.S.A., for "Congres Archéologique de
France," Session xlvii., Publié par le Société Française
d'Archéologie.

Mr. Forster exhibited a massive piece of lead, the filling of an iron cramp recently taken from the masonry of the remains of the old Roman bridge at Corbridge, in perfect condition.

The Chairman exhibited a cast of the Seal of the City of Canterbury, having reference to Thomas à Becket ; also casts of two impressions of the Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth for the Kingdom of Ireland, which he thus described :—

I have much pleasure in exhibiting to-night casts of two impressions of the Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which, I believe, are as yet unknown, and hence have never been figured. I have described them in my catalogue of seals in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum (vol. iv. p. 696) a few years ago. One is from a detached impression on a vellum label cut from a document. The other is attached to a document (Add. Ch. 40,143)

dated February, 1563, fifth year. They are of dark yellow or uncoloured wax, originally fine, now injured by pressure and chipped. They have marks of the studs or lugs used in the uniting, and are 4 in. in diameter. On the *obverse* is seen the Queen in robes of majesty, holding a sceptre and orb, seated on a carved throne under a canopy, curtains round the pillars; on the *dexter*, on a corbel, a lion rampant, holding a banner-flag charged with the harp of IRELAND: on the *sinister*, a dragon, holding a flag charged with three crowns in pale for the Kingdom of IRELAND; see Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. i. page 463. This must be distinguished from the shield bearing three crowns, *two and one*, on *obverse* of the second seal of Henry IV., attributed by our late Treasurer, Mr. Wyon, to St. Edmund. Whether this shield in Henry IV's seal is rightly or wrongly attributed to St. Edmund may be open to question, especially so when it is observed that all the other heraldic bearings therein refer to territorial dominion, and that the King styled himself *Dominus Hibernia*, and yet omitted to introduce into his seal any armorial illustration of that claim, unless the cast under observation be intended for Ireland. The *Harl. MS.* 4039 attributes *three crowns* to the Kingdom of Munster. The harp is also a badge on the *reverse*. The legend on each side is the customary style of the Queen.

We shall hope in a future Part to reproduce these casts.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley exhibited, on behalf of the Rev. Cæsar Caine, a rubbing of a small coffin-shaped stone slab recently discovered in the Church of Garrigill, Cumberland. It bears a representation of a pair of shears in the centre. After considerable discussion, it was agreed that the size did not in any way indicate the sex or age of the interment, but that it was probably a memorial of a shearman or wool-stapler, of whom there were many in Cumberland in the middle ages. The Paper of the evening was by the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White on "The Boy Bishop," and will be published.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29TH, 1902.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

To the Cambrian Archaeological Association, 6th Ser., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1902.
„ Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, for "Transactions," vol. xxiv, Pt. 1.

To the Royal Archaeological Society, for 2nd Ser., vol. viii, No. 4, 1901.

„ *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for “Journal,” vol. xxxi, Pt. 4, 1901.*

Mr. I. C. Gould exhibited a contemporary catalogue of Hogarth's prints. It is in MS., and was issued from the artist's “house in Leicester Fields,” but does not appear to be in Hogarth's handwriting. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the document is the price at which the prints were offered for sale. For example, the set of

	£	s.	d.
Marriage à-la-mode, in six prints . . .	1	11	6
Harlot's Progress, in six prints . . .	1	1	0
Rake's Progress, in eight prints . . .	2	2	0
Beer Street and Gin Lane, two prints . . .	0	3	0
The Two Fellow-Prentices, in twelve prints . . .	0	12	0
Sleeping Congregation . . .	0	1	0

The list includes sixty-six prints, of twenty-six subjects in all, and concludes by offering the whole together at the price of ten guineas.

Major Freer reported :—“That through the efforts of the members of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, and the Society of Antiquaries, with the support of two neighbouring societies, the original plans for the rebuilding of the Trinity Hospital, Leicester, have been objected to by the Charity Commissioners, and fresh plans retaining a considerable amount of the mediæval work have been substituted, thus securing the preservation of part of the original North Wall, and several bays of double rows of the stone arches, which carried the original roof. The new portion of the building has been carried out on the lines suggested in the memorial presented to the Charity Commissioners by the Leicestershire Society.

“The Georgian slate roof has also been replaced. The arches were found to be in a perfect state of preservation, on the removal of the wooden casing and other obstructions under which a great part of them had been hidden.”

The Chairman expressed the gratification with which he and the Meeting had listened to these remarks, and congratulated Major Freer and the Leicestershire Society upon the successful results of their action.

A lengthy and most interesting Paper by Dr. Russell Forbes upon the “Discoveries in the Forum at Rome” was read by Mr. George Patrick, Hon. Secretary, and will, it is hoped, be published.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5TH, 1902.

THOMAS BLASHILL, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

The Very Rev. G. W. Kitchen, D.D., The Deanery, Durham.

The Bristol Museum, care of The City Treasurer, Bristol.

At the Council Meeting, Mr. Compton, V.-P., read the following notes :—

I have received a letter from Mr. Henry A. Rye, of Castle Street, Bakewell, in which he says :

“ I was looking in the Patent Rolls the other day, when I was having a holiday in town, and came upon a notice which upsets the list [in the Rievaulx Chartulary] (Surtees Society) as follows :

“ 3 *Hen. VI, Part II, Memb. 16th Patent Rolls.*

1425, June 17, Westminster.

“ The Abbot of Bello loco Regis and the Abbot of Thame, by the authority of the Abbot of Citeaux, and his General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, recently restored William Bramley to the possession of the Abbey of Ryevale, and the dignity of Abbot of the same, having first removed a certain Henry Barton, an intruder. But now it is understood that the said Henry Barton, with a number of malefactors, recently entered into the said abbey, and took and carried away certain goods and jewels, and also common seal of the same ; and several of the monks, despising the observances of their religion, were wandering about the country at their pleasure, to the danger of their souls, and the scandal of the Order. Wherefore Richard de Nevile, Knight, Ralph de Graystock, Knight, and William Bolton, are commissioned to enquire into the matter, to restore the said goods and jewels, and to arrest the said monks, and to deliver them to the Abbot for castigation.”

Mr. Rye also found an entry of John, Abbot of Rievale in 1363. The cartulary as published, by the Surtees Society, he therefore suggests should be corrected thus :

Surtees Society.

27. William Bramley, A.D. 1419.
28. John II, A.D. 1421.
29. Henry III, Henry Barton, a monk of Salcay, Register at York, Sede Vacante, Nov. 1423.

Correction.

- John, Abbot, A.D. 1363.
 William Bramley, 1419.
 John III.
 Henry Barton 1423, ousting William Bramley.
 William Bramley, restored 1425.
 Henricus 1429, Feast of All Saints.

Mrs. Astley exhibited an elegant glass goblet of Venetian manufacture, believed to be of the fourteenth century, in perfect condition, and the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, two snuff-boxes, one of silver, the other of copper. The former was exhibited some years ago, but the two were now shown together for the sake of comparison. Both have figure subjects in high relief, Flemish in character, of the school of Teniers and Van Ostade, and represent men drinking outside an inn. Mr. Astley said he had reason to believe that the silver box, which was given by George IV, when Prince of Wales, to his grandfather, was of late eighteenth-century date, but the copper one was undoubtedly of the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Patrick exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Sanders, of Bristol, an article called a "riff," an instrument for sharpening the scythe, made of cross-grained oak greased on each side, and powdered with a very hard, coarse-grit sand. It is an interesting survival of an ancient type still in use in the district of Glamorgan, which once was the domain of the "Kings of Gower." The gritstone sand is found in the neighbouring hills, but those who know where to find it keep the deposits a secret, and when a sufficient supply has been obtained the place is covered up.

The Chairman remarked that a somewhat similar instrument, but differing in shape, is still used in Yorkshire, but is there called a "strikel."

Dr. W. de Gray Birch gave some particulars of the little-known, but extremely fine specimen of a fortified ecclesiastical building in Great Britain—Ewenny Priory, Glamorgan—the history of which is so well told in the valuable work just published by Col. Turbervill.

This book is reviewed in the present volume.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1902.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., V.-P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

- To the Essex Archaeological Society*, for "Transactions," vol. viii, Pt. 3, New Series; and "Feet of Fines for Essex," Pt. 3.
- „ *Royal Institute of British Architects*, for "Journal," 1902.
- „ *Smithsonian Institution*, for "Miscellaneous Collection," vol. xlii.
- „ *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, for "Magazine," December, 1901.

Mr. A. R. Goddard, of Bedford, exhibited a piece of Roman mortar found near the site of the Roman villa which has just been unearthed in Greenwich Park.

Dr. Winstone exhibited an elegantly-shaped wroughtiron two-branch candle-holder, 7 in. high, the branches measuring 3 in. across from centre to centre, said to have been found in the Thames, together with some ancient keys, which were also exhibited. In the church-wardens' accounts of the royal parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields from 1525 to 1603 there are numerous entries of receipts for lights at funerals, the first entry being for 4d. for small lights at the burial of a child. It was thought the branch in question was for the purpose of holding the small lights used on such occasions.

Mrs. Collier read a Paper on "St. Christopher and some Representations of him in English Churches," which was illustrated by several engravings, etchings, and coloured prints.

In the discussion which followed the Paper, Mr. Gould, Mr. Patrick, Mr. Compton, the Chairman, and Mr. Goddard took part, the last-named remarking that the churches at Bartlow in Essex and Llantwit in Wales are dedicated to St. Christopher.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Early Renaissance Architecture in England. By J. ALFRED GOTCH, F.S.A. (London: B. T. Batsford, 21s. net).—The author of this book is already well known to students of the subject, not only by means of the sumptuous volumes previously issued by the same publishers entitled, *Architecture of the Renaissance in England*, in which he dealt with the years from 1560 to 1635, but also by various articles in our own and other learned publications on different Elizabethan and Jacobean mansions. In this handsome book he treats of the period from 1500 to 1625, and gives a succinct and graphic account of the rise and progress of the new style, from the advent of the Italian designers until the commencement of the activity of the greatest architect this country ever produced—Inigo Jones. The book is therefore the story of the rise of a great art, and it closes when it had reached its zenith, before artificiality and the signs of decay were yet visible.

The mediæval Gothic architecture of England, through all its phases of development from Roman to Perpendicular, was continuous, and it was native. At the close of the fifteenth century it began to feel the influence of an outside power—Italy—which acted upon it with increasing force, until, after two hundred years, its native characteristics nearly disappeared, and Italian buildings were copied in England almost line for line. *That* mediæval architecture had been almost exclusively ecclesiastical; *this* new architecture became, owing partly to the spirit of the Reformation, which drew men's minds away from the service of God to the service of themselves, partly to the greater quietness of the times, more and more domestic.

The glories of the mediæval builder must be sought in the noble fanes, conventual or diocesan, and in the humbler parish churches scattered over the length and breadth of the land; the triumphs of the new architecture are to be found in the splendid mansions which the Elizabethan and Stewart nobility erected on their estates out of the spoils of the monasteries.

Thus this book is practically the story of the progress of domestic architecture in England during a century and a quarter.



Montacute House, Somerset : West Front (1580).



Barlborough Hall, Devon : Entrance Front (1583).



Porch at Chelvey Court, Somerset (*circa* 1640).



Cowdray House, Sussex.

Mr. Gatch commences with an account of the invasion of the foreign style, shown chiefly at first in the matter of ornamentation, before any structural alteration in the architectural features began to develop, and he illustrates this point by reference to Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and the work of Wolsey's Italian artificers at Hampton Court : while some of the earliest examples of the new style



Font-Cover and Canopy, Pilton Church, Devon.

are to be seen in the tombs erected during the early years of the sixteenth century, notably in that of Henry VII, the construction of which was entrusted by Henry VIII to Pietro Torrigiano, or, as the English called him, Peter Torrisany.

This is followed by a chapter on the development of the house-plan, in which the transformation of the fifteenth-century semi-castellated house—of which a good example is to be found at Oxburgh, in Norfolk

—into the sixteenth-century mansion, with its forecourt and wings, such as may be seen at Montacute House, Somerset, is clearly traced.

The succeeding chapters deal in order with the exterior and interior features of house-planning on a large scale, and this is followed by a description of a variety of miscellaneous work, such as street houses, market-houses, almshouses, town halls, village-crosses, etc. A chapter on sixteenth-century house-planning, illustrated from a collection of the drawings of John Thorpe, a celebrated designer of the day, and another on the architectural designers of the same century, other than Thorpe, brings the work to a close.

By the courtesy of the publishers we are enabled to give herewith views of Montacute House and Barlborough Hall, which illustrate the new style; the porch at Chelvey Court, Somerset, which well exhibits the attention paid to exterior ornament; Cowdray House, the façade of which affords a splendid example of the effect produced by the fine mullioned and transomed windows, which formed the main features of an Elizabethan house, with which may be compared the Gothic window hiding away in a corner of the picture; and, as an illustration of Elizabethan wood-carving, the beautiful font-cover, with the elaborate canopy above, from Pilton Church, Devonshire. These are but a few of the two hundred and thirty drawings and photographs in the text, to say nothing of the magnificent series of eighty-seven plates, with which the book is adorned. The author has spared no pains, and the publishers no expense, to make the work worthy of the subject, and we have no hesitation in recommending it most heartily to all lovers of architecture, whether they be professed architects or merely *dilettante* admirers of the beautiful wherever it is to be found.

We have only one little grumble to make, and we have done. Either by an inadvertence on the part of the author, or by a printer's error, on p. 17 East Barsham and Great Snoring are stated to be in "Suffolk;" when they are mentioned again on p. 47 the county is not stated; but on p. 46, in the ground-plan of East Barsham, it is correctly stated to be in "Norfolk." As a matter of fact, the Rectory of Great Snoring, with its fine Tudor chimneys and Italian terra-cotta ornamentation (*temp.* Henry VIII), is also one of the beauties of Norfolk, and must not be lightly surrendered to another, even though sister, county.

A Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800. By REGINALD BLOMFIELD, M.A. (London: Geo. Bell and Sons, 7s. 6d. net). —This book is an abbreviation of the author's larger work on the same subject, in two vols., and is intended to serve as a handbook for students of architecture. We may say at once that it is admirably

adapted to serve its purpose. Written in an easy and flowing style, its conclusions, delivered with the calm authority of the man who knows, and who feels it unnecessary to enter here into all the intricacies of argument, judiciously illustrated throughout with telling examples of the buildings described, this little work is a striking proof that it is possible to deal briefly with a large subject without being *jejune*, and that a handbook need not be either dry or uninteresting.

The first four chapters cover the ground already traversed in Mr. Gotch's book; during which period Mr. Blomfield holds that architecture was in fact tentative, not yet specialised, hardly yet sure of itself; still clinging, as in the screen at Abbey Dore, to the past, but preparing for the great spring into the future, which was to be initiated by Inigo Jones.

The only serious divergence of views between our two authors on this period is in respect to the architectural drawings of John Thorpe: for whereas Mr. Gotch holds that the collection contained in the Soane Museum, which goes by his name, is made up of his own work, Mr. Blomfield holds that the majority of them, being unsigned, and being plans and drawing of buildings which Thorpe almost certainly never designed, are not his work at all. As unprejudiced outsiders, we may frankly say that to us Mr. Gotch seems to make out a very good case: but Mr. Blomfield, knowing his friend's arguments, states in his Preface: "I adhere to my original conclusion;" and there, in default of fresh evidence on one side or the other, the matter stands.

Mr. Blomfield's verdict on Inigo Jones is masterly and to the point. "Inigo Jones was, on the whole, the greatest architect and one of the most accomplished artists, that this country has produced. His especial strength lay in his mastery of proportion, his contempt for mere prettiness, and the rare distinction of his style. No man ever more completely realised his own ideal of his art."

The great architect left behind him many pupils, but no immediate successor. During the troubles of the Civil War, architecture, like every other art, languished in the shade, but with the Restoration another great name leaps forth—that of Sir Christopher Wren. "Wren," says Mr. Blomfield, "was a first-rate genius. His work in its main features was sane and reasonable, and, where he had the opportunity, he designed with a largeness of conception rare among English architects. Wren was the true successor of Inigo Jones in all that makes architecture vital, in all the qualities that gave to the English Renaissance its sterling masculine character." Who that knows and loves St. Paul's, and Wren's city churches, will deny that this verdict is just!

Wren's contemporaries were jealous of him, and he, too, left no successor. There were, however, a number of lesser men, who were all clever, and each of whom was remarkable for some piece of good work. We need only mention Vanbrugh, the literary man, and bizarre designer of Blenheim Palace, who was ridiculed in his own day, but yet acquired a reputation which still survives. Among architects whose names only endure in their works may be mentioned Jarman and Wynne; together with Bell, of Lynn: whose beautiful little Customs-house there, and twisted pilasters and doorways, show the influence of the Dutch style, which succeeded to the previous French, German, and Italian influences, and came in with King William III. The eighteenth century saw a great change come over architecture, and altogether for the worse. At its commencement there existed a knowledge of the technical arts of building more perfect than at any previous time, and up to 1750, its architecture, though not always interesting is seldom ignorant in construction, or vulgar in detail. Campbell, the architect of Houghton Hall, Ripley, Lord Burlington, Leoni, Kent, were all conscientious artists, though at times commonplace and dull. But after their time, through the days of the Second and Third Georges, not even excepting Dance the younger, and the brothers Adam, the story is one of slow decay. The form remains, the life is gone.

From this Georgian sleep of death arose the Gothic revival of the nineteenth century, but it was only a galvanized not a vital breathing art; and it remains for the twentieth century to strive to infuse a new spirit into the dry bones of contemporary architecture that they may live. We sadly fear that the projected cathedral at Liverpool will not prove to be the outcome of this new and long-wished for spirit!

That Mr. Blomfield's book may provide an impetus in this direction, we feel sure no one more heartily desires than the author himself.

Ewenny Priory, Monastery, and Fortress. By Col. J. P. TURBERVILL. (Stock, Paternoster Row.)—The monastic history of Glamorganshire has recently been the subject of several works. Dr. Birch has written the histories of Margam and Neath Abbeys, and now we have to notice Colonel Turbervill's *Ewenny*. The Priory remains are of value to the archaeologist, as a remarkable example of the adaptability of strength, to resist attacks likely to be made in a district hardly pacified when it was building, to an edifice primarily intended for pacific and religious purposes. Hence in *Ewenny* we get a combination of ideas hardly equalled in any other remains. All this has been shown very clearly in the work before us. The plan, the strength of the walls, the solidity of the tower, the circuit walls, and many other details which

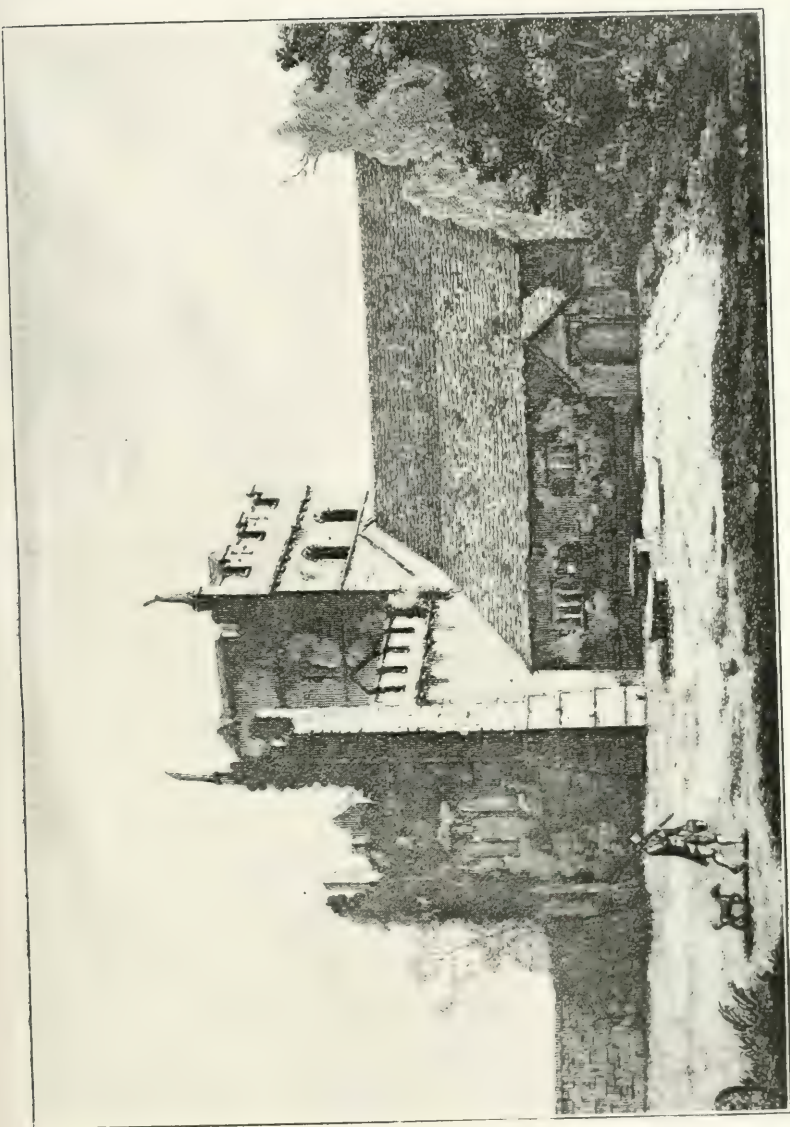
speak to an observant mind, point unmistakeably to the need of protection from the human enemy that was felt by the inmates, while studying to resist the wiles of their ghostly assailant. Ewenny has an instructive history. Founded in 1141, under the auspices of the predominant family of De Londres or De Londoniis, and at first styled the Priory of St. Michael of Uggomora or Ogmora, on the banks of which river it is placed, it ran the wonted course of growth, beneficial augmentation, usefulness, and dissolution, which is practically true of all the religious houses of the land. The original deed of acknowledgment of Henry VIII's supremacy, signed by the prior and monks,



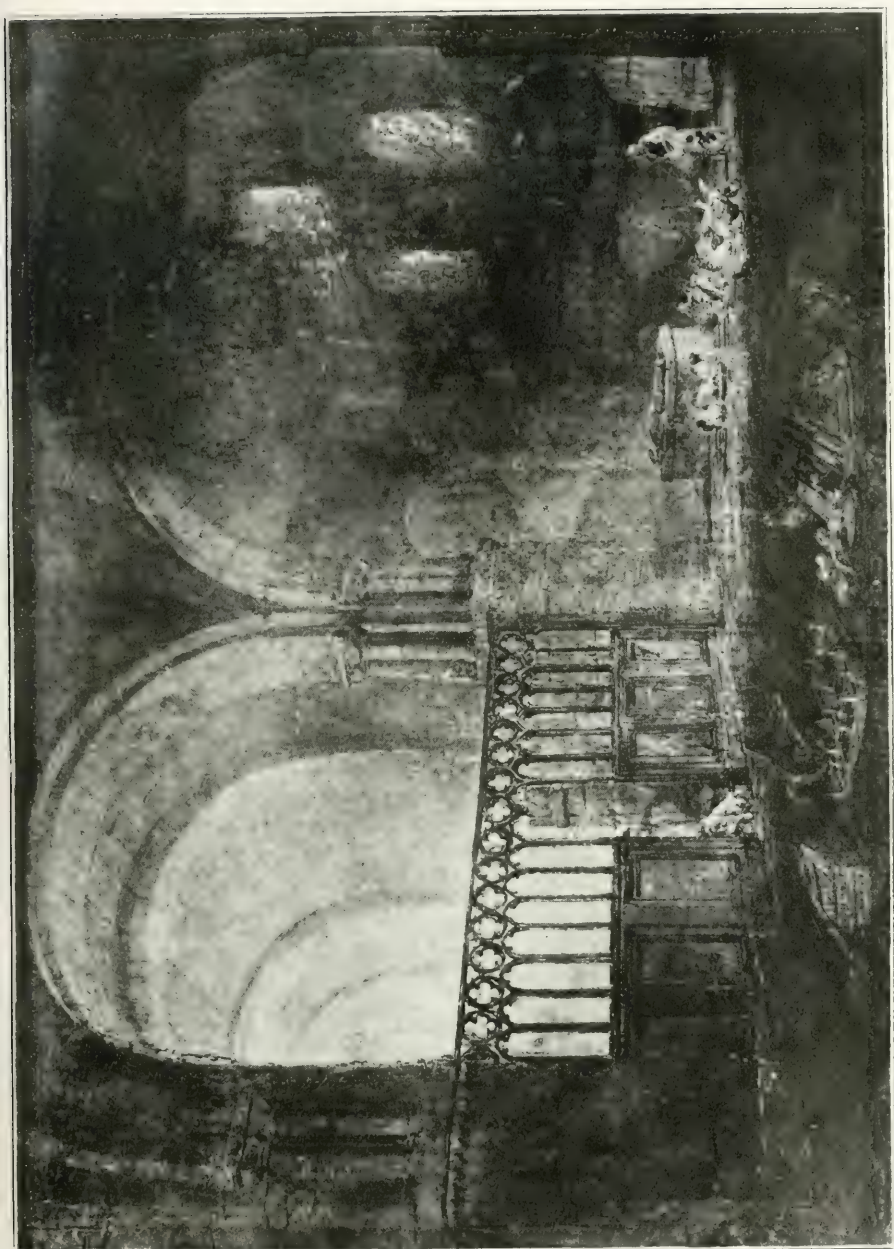
Seal of Ewenny Priory.

(From Original Impressions in possession of Miss Talbot of Margam.)

is still extant in the British Museum. The seal is known by means of impressions attached to two Margam Muniments belonging to Miss Talbot. Most of the documentary evidence upon which the history rests has been printed by the late Mr. G. T. Clark, of Talygarn, in his *Carta de Glamorgan*. The late Professor Freeman wrote a full description of the architecture. Colonel Turbervill has gathered all this up into a really interesting account of the Priory, adding much new information about many events of importance, numerous views (some of which we have been enabled to reproduce here), details, tombs, and other antiquities. He has also given notices of the families of De Londres, the Turbervilles of Coity, the Carnes, and



EWENNY PRIORY CHURCH.
Drawn by Francis Grose, 1775.



INTERIOR OF EWENNY PRIORY CHURCH, FROM END OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT.
From an early Turner in the Codriff Museum, A.D. 1790-1800.

other successive post-reformation owners of the site. The work thus forms a welcome and valuable addition to the history of the county, and to the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain. As at Margam, so also here, reverent care and intelligent appreciation of what it is right to do with ancient buildings have succeeded in arresting, to a great degree, the devouring hand of time, and the still more dangerous hand of the irreverent vandal and the incurious iconoclast, and in beautifying the vestiges of bygone piety and art; it is not so at Neath, where, alas! ere long, all that remains of a once proud edifice must fall to dust unless help quickly comes. We hope that the lessons here given will not be thrown away; and the antiquary could hardly be better pleased than to hear of steps being taken to bring Neath Abbey to as excellent a condition of preservation as obtains at Margam and Ewenny.

The Book of Sundials. Originally compiled by the late Mrs. ALFRED GATTY, now enlarged and re-edited by H. K. F. EDEN and ELEANOR LLOYD (London: George Bell and Sons, 31s. 6d. net.)—Mrs. Gatty's *Book of Sundials* was originally published in 1872, and is too well known to need any commendation. She tells us in her Preface that she commenced to collect dials, with their mottoes, in 1835, and steadily followed the fascinating pursuit throughout her life. After her death, in 1873, several further editions were published from time to time, and now Messrs. Geo. Bell and Sons have brought out this enlarged and revised volume, which practically covers the whole ground, and leaves nothing further to be done in this field of research.

The book commences with a history of the methods of measuring time from the earliest ages, and includes an account of the sundials of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, from the sundial of Ahaz down to the close of the classic period. The ancient Egyptians had their own method of computing the passage of time, but do not appear to have made use of anything that can be called a sundial—and this is also true of the Babylonians, though Herodotus says, "It was from the Babylonians that the Greeks learned concerning the pole, the gnomon, and the twelve parts of the day." A full description of English mediæval and Renaissance dials follows, illustrated by examples from churches and houses in all parts of the country: and this is succeeded by an interesting description of portable dials, written by Mr. Lewis Evans, F.S.A.

The next three hundred pages out of the five hundred of which the book consists are occupied with a list of sundial mottoes, alphabetically

arranged, containing over sixteen hundred examples, which must be almost exhaustive in its completeness; and a short chapter on the construction of sundials, by Mr. J. Whigham Richardson, brings the book to a close. Some of the mottoes are most quaint and curious, but space forbids quotation. Most of them, in one way or another, point the moral of the fleeting hours, while in more than one the dial itself becomes a *momento mori*, teaching that we shall "*die-all*."

There are abundant illustrations and a copious index, and no one will regret giving this handsome volume—itsself a worthy memorial of the accomplished authoress—a place in his library.

Voices of the Past, from Assyria and Babylonia. HENRY S. ROBERTSON, B.Sc., etc. (London: Geo. Bell and Sons, 4s. 6d. net.)—This little handbook is a very favourable specimen of that popularization of archaeology of which there is so much in the present day. The author gives in a lucid and readable form the results of many an hour spent in painstaking research. "The great library of Assurbanipal" at Nineveh is first dealt with, and after discussing the succession of races—Accadians, Sumerians, and Semitic Chaldeans—who peopled the regions between Tigris and Euphrates from the earliest days—the development of their script from the original ideograms to the later cuneiform style is well described, and examples are given. "The Chaldean Genesis" affords scope for a discussion of the Babylonian Ziggurats in connection with the Tower of Babel and Jacob's Ladder: and later chapters describe the intercourse between Chaldea and Canaan, from the days of Abraham down to the destruction of the kingdom of Israel by Assyria in 720 B.C. There are numerous illustrations.

The Ancestor: A Quarterly Review of County and Family History, Heraldry, and Antiquities. Edited by OSWALD BARRON, F.S.A. (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 5s. net quarterly, or £1 net per annum).—This latest aspirant to the favour of the antiquarian world, and of that great public which, without being antiquarian, yet takes an interest in matters archaeological, comes forward possessed of every quality, as regards appearance and get-up, calculated to win support. It is a handsome royal octavo volume, printed in old faced type on antique paper, adorned with numerous illustrations, and bound in neat paper boards, fitting it to take its place at once upon the shelf.

We may say, without further preface, that the contents of Part I, which has just been issued, fully justify this promising appearance.

In the first articles, the Earl of Malmesbury wins attention with some interesting and well-told "Anecdotes of the Harris Family," and Lady Victoria Manners describes the "Miniatures at Belvoir," many of which are reproduced in a style that would bear comparison with the originals. More solid matters follow. The Editor discusses the revival of a true heraldry, restored to something of its pristine glory of the great Age of the fourteenth century, and divested of the later jargon of Heralds and the College of Arms, too slavishly followed by modern writers on the subject. Mr. St. John Hope contributes one of his able papers on the "King's Coronation Ornaments," in which illustrations are drawn from original MSS. and monumental effigies. Mr. W. H. B. Bird successfully disposes of "the Grosvenor Myth," but makes it manifest that although the family must be content to abandon the claims of descent from Rollo, the famous Dane, they are yet sufficiently ancient to satisfy all legitimate aspiration to which pride of birth may give rise. Mr. J. Horace Round, whose name alone would give this new Quarterly its *cachet*, if it needed it, contributes no less than three Papers, dealing in his accustomed trenchant style, based upon research into original documents which none can dispute, with the origin of the Fitzgeralds, the Esmonds, and the Gresleys of Drakelow; and Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte, K.C.B., describes the Heraldic Glass from Lytes Cary, co. Somerset, many portions being illustrated, while one roundel of stained glass, bearing the arms of Lyte and Horsey, forms the beautiful coloured frontispiece of the volume. The most controversial article is a long one by Sir George R. Sitwell, on "The English Gentleman," in which the author brings forward a copious and convincing armoury of arguments to prove that, in spite of Stubbs and Freeman, Hallam and Macaulay, "the good old English gentleman," so far from dating back to the twelfth century, does not really take his rise till the fourteenth century; and that the first monument to a "gentleman" was not erected before 1445, to one John Daundelyon, of Margate. At the same time he proves that originally the *nobilis* and *gentilis* was one and the same; and finally that a gentleman is not, as the N. E. D. lays down, a person of "heraldic status" who is "entitled to bear arms," but a freeman whose ancestors have always been free. "Thus," concludes the author, "we are driven to the painful but irresistible conclusion that quite 25 per cent. of our peers are not gentlemen; and we shall perhaps, after all, do better to drop the use of "gentleman" as a description of rank and status, and to conclude, with Chaucer's *Elf-Queen*, that it is "gentil dedes" which make the "gentil man."

In the section entitled "What is Believed," numbers of mistakes as

to family history occurring in the daily press are exposed and corrected. In other sections, family history from the public records and from private MSS. is dealt with.

On the whole, this is one of the most promising attempts at substituting knowledge for fancies to which the recent revival of an interest in the past has given rise; and we trust the aim of its promoters may be realised, viz., "to make *The Ancestor* the central authority in a field where the want of such an authority has made itself greatly felt." The names of the contributors to this first part are a sufficient warrant that no pains will be spared to effect this object.

Reopening of Lydiard Tregoze Church. — The reopening of the Church at Lydiard Tregoze, on Wednesday, January 22nd, 1902, affords an opportunity of noticing this very interesting historical edifice, which has recently undergone complete renovation.

The Rector, the Rev. E. Humphrey Jones, F.R.Hist.Soc., upon his institution to the benefice, found that the state of the church required immediate attention, and he lost no time in taking steps to rescue the fabric from the accumulated rubbish of the last century or more, and from the disfigurement caused by the generations of washes—white and yellow—of the Georgian period. The task was no light one, but the Rector set about it with an energy and a determination which has resulted in the achievement of a really necessary work. In undertaking the work it was considered judicious, so to carry it out as to preserve the many historical features of the edifice, whether of pre-Reformation or post-Reformation times.

The interior of the whole building has been thoroughly repaired and painted from the ground to the top, and a trench has been made round the church to prevent the water percolating to the foundations. The stone stair (with outside door to the Rectory) has been renewed. A description of the church, such as it deserves, would occupy more space than we could allot for the purpose, but we must point out a few of its very interesting features.

The removal of the accumulated coverings of whitewash soon revealed colours on the walls; and this work, carried on with the greatest care, resulted in the appearance of mural paintings of the highest interest, covered in some places with more recent examples of wall decorations.

Upon the original Norman plaster on the north wall of the nave are traces of paintings; amongst them appear to be St. Michael and the Dragon. There are also what look like a castle or fortress, a tree or trees, and what is, conjecturally, a flag; also some human figures

and flowers. Colours appear also upon the south wall of the nave, and several of the late Norman arches of both arcades display decorative colour in characteristic patterns. Over the chancel arch is a cross, now plain white, but once a crucifix, below which are the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John, with Roman soldiers near. The sides of the arch are decorated with inscriptions in English, evidently post-Reformation, and part of the Commandments can very clearly be read. A very perfect painting must not be forgotten, that on the column nearest the south door, and visible immediately upon entering the church. It is a figure above 15 in. high, representing the Saviour after the Resurrection, showing the print of the nails in the hand. The mural paintings are of the period 1400 to 1430. Some authorities are, however, of opinion that some of them may even belong to the thirteenth century. The ancient portions of the fittings of the church are of the period of the Renaissance. The carvings of some of the panels are very beautiful examples of the Jacobean period, and this remark applies not only to the panelling in the sacrarium, and the pulpit, but also to that in the choir stalls and in the old seats along the walls of the north and south aisles, and round the Bolingbroke pew. The panelling above the communion table, which occupies the place of a reredos, has been retained and restored, the Commandments (supported by figures of Moses and Aaron), the Creed and Lord's Prayer being cleaned and regilded. The removal of the lath-and-plaster covering of the interior of the roof revealed the very substantial original oak timbers, now cleaned and renovated.

Almost all the old windows in the church are square-headed, but with a pointed arch to each light, suggestive of the Later Perpendicular style (1450 to 1500). In the heads of the lights are preserved some ancient stained glass—small figures of angels, with scrolls—and two abbots or bishops; whilst in almost every case the remainder of the window consists of comparatively modern plain squares.

In the St. John Chapel, or aisle (south side of sacrarium), is a magnificent marble memorial to John St. John (*ob.* 1638), enclosed with iron railing. On slabs of black marble, supported by panelled sides, are three white marble recumbent effigies (full-sized), male and two females (his wives, Anne and Margaret), one with an infant. At the head or feet are kneeling statues of five boys and three girls, with books in their hands. Around the sides are many shields, panels, and effigies. The canopy, supported on eight black marble columns, is surmounted by shields and crest. After an examination of this beautiful work of art, which was imported from Italy, one is not

surprised to learn that its cost was as much as fourteen thousand pounds. A colossal gilt statue to another of the St. John family (Sir Edward St. John, ancestor of the Earls of Jersey) occupies a space on the north side of the chancel (1645).

The cost of carrying out the work of restoration of the church has proved to be much more than was at first anticipated, and there is a considerable deficit. An appeal is therefore made to all who are interested in historical remains, to show their appreciation of the efforts put forth to preserve for the nation these interesting links with the past, by assisting with as much financial aid as may be in their power.

Donations may be sent to F. Leighton (Hon. Sec. to Restoration Committee), Lydiard Tregoze, Wootton Bassett, Wilts; or to the Viscountess Bolingbroke, Lydiard Park; or to Rev. E. Humphrey Jones, Rector.

Corrigendum.—Lord Hawkesbury kindly forwards the following correction with the accompanying note: In Mr. Carrington's interesting Paper on "The Early Lords of Belvoir," vol. vii, N. S., p. 304, line 2, *for* "daughter," *read* "sister and coheir." Sir Walter Espec, the founder of Kirkham, 1121, Rievaulx, 1134, left no surviving issue, and his three sisters were his coheirs.





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AUGUST, 1902.

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF THE NORTH.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P.

(*Read November 6th, 1901.*)



Y a Statute passed in the 27th year of the reign of King Henry VIII,¹ the lesser monasteries, *i.e.*, all those of the annual value of £200 and under, were suppressed, and their profits went to augment the revenues of the Crown; and between that time and the end of the 31st year of

Henry's reign, the remaining and greater religious houses followed the fate of their smaller brethren. Although for some time past many causes were at work to weaken the hold of the monastic institutions on the reverence of the people, yet when the first shock of the Dissolution came, the country was not sufficiently prepared to accept the change without protest; and, consequently, in the year following the suppression of the lesser monasteries, insurrections arose in many parts of the counties of Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland, and at Pickering, Leigh, and Scarborough and Hull, in Yorkshire. The Yorkshire

¹ Cap. 28 [A.D. 1536].

insurrection, known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," was under the command of Robert Aske, and, to give it a reputation, was accompanied by certain priests with crosses leading the way, the army following with banners, whereon were painted the Crucifix, the five wounds, and the chalice. This ended in a conference with the King's lieutenants, when the rebels demanded a general pardon; then a Parliament to be held in those parts, and a Court of Justice, that none beyond Trent might be cited to London in law suits.¹

These rebellions were suppressed between the 28th and 30th years of the King's reign; but the clergy of the North in general, wholly opposing the King's reformation, kept the rebellion still on foot, though outwardly smothered for a while,¹ and it continued at intervals down to the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The result of these insurrections and their suppression was the establishment by the King of the Court of the President and Council of the North, constituted by a commission under the Great Seal, consisting of two parts: the one of oyer and terminer, *i.e.*, to hear and determine all treasons, felonies, and misdemeanors, and the other to hear and determine real, personal, and mixed actions, when both parties, or either, were, owing to their great poverty, debarred from obtaining justice in the ordinary course of law; and they were to decide according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, or otherwise according to their sound discretions.

This Court, whose jurisdiction extended over the counties of York, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and the counties of the City of York, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was permanently established by the commission issued by Henry VIII in the 31st year of his reign to Robert, Bishop of Llandaff, President of the Council, and others; and it would seem by the list of the Lords Presidents, as given by Drake in his *Eboracum*,² that this Bishop of Llandaff (Robert Holgate, afterwards translated to York) was the third Lord President, the first being Thomas

¹ Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Life of Henry VIII.*

² Book I, chap. viii, p. 368.

Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who was appointed on April 23rd, 1537 (28th Henry VIII), and that he and his successor, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, the immediate predecessor of Robert Holgate, held office during the progress of the insurrections and before the rebellious districts had settled down to peaceable government; and a few months after the surrender of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, at York, by William Thornton, last abbot, on November 26th, 1539, the President and Council, with the concurrence of the King, took possession of the abbatial mansion for the purpose of their courts, official business, and residence, which was thereafter known by the title of the King's Manor.

In addition to the criminal and civil jurisdiction given to this Court, it had also administrative functions for the government of the provinces under its sway; and, in the exercise of its powers, acted pursuant to instructions from the Sovereign, issued from time to time, and also by special directions of the King's Privy Council. Thus, we find instructions from Edward VI, in A.D. 1549, to Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Council, on his appointment as President. He was to call together the Council, and appoint them to act for the advancement of justice and repression of malefactors. The Lord President was to have a voice negative in all matters debated in the Council, who were to treat him with reverend behaviour and obedience. Sessions were to last a month, to be kept yearly at York, Hull, and Newcastle, and one at Durham. No attorney was to take above £12, and no counsellor above £20, at one sessions in one matter.¹ And Queen Elizabeth, in A.D. 1574, sent instructions to Henry, Earl of Huntington, President of the Council, wherein she says—

“As many ignorant people were led away by the leaders of the great rebellion in the North through being retained as their servants, you are to enquire about the unlawful retaining of subjects in the North. Notice the behaviour of those pardoned, and favour them if they behave circumspectly. Also see that the friends and favourers of those fled the realm receive no suspicious persons with letters or messages to kindle new troubles. Also see that those

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Add.*, Edward VI, 1549 (47).

who occupy forfeited houses and lands be present in the country for the preservation of the peace.”¹

This was in accord with a previous letter of the 19th January, 1540, from the Council in reply to John Heron, of Chipchase :—

“Where you say you are troubled in mind by a clause in a letter from my Lord Privy Seal to you, commanding you ‘to raise no fire;’ We think the meaning is that you should not at once burn their houses, as in wars between strange realms, but only resort to fire when it is the only means of getting the rebels out of their houses.”²

This Court appears to have been very beneficial to the City of York, from the great concourse of people that necessarily resorted there; but it is a question whether it was any advantage to the rest of the kingdom, or whether the royal prerogative was not stretched too far in the erection of such a Court.³ To a full understanding of this question, it may be well to state shortly what constituted the judicial system of the country at that time. First, the King’s Bench was the supreme court of common law in the kingdom. It kept all inferior jurisdictions within the bounds of their authority. It took cognisance both of criminal and civil causes, and was also a Court of Appeal from the Court of Common Pleas and all inferior courts of records in England. The next was the Court of Common Pleas, which was also a court of record, and had jurisdiction over personal actions and exclusive jurisdiction over real actions, *i.e.*, those which concerned the right of freehold. These courts grew out of the Saxon Wittena-gemot, and were by the Conqueror separated from the deliberative power of that great Council as counsellors of the Crown, and confined to their ministerial power as judges. There was also the Exchequer, set up by William the Conqueror, and regulated and reduced by King Edward I, to order the revenues of the Crown and recover the King’s debts and duties.

Derived from their supreme authority were the Justices

¹ *State Papers, Domestic, Add.*, 1566—1579, p. 462.

² *Letters, etc., Foreign and Dom.*, Hen. VIII, 1540. Ed. by Gardiner and Brodie, 1896, vol. xv, p. 28.

³ *Drake’s Ebor.* 237, Bk. I, chap. 7.

in Eyre, who had jurisdiction of all pleas of the Crown, and of all actions, real, personal, and mixed. And lastly the Justices of Assize and *nisi prius*, instituted for the trial of causes in the counties where the causes of action arose, in obedience to the enactment in Magna Charta to that effect.¹

In the exercise of these several jurisdictions it is only to be expected that friction should arise between the ancient judicial tribunals and the Court of the Lord President and Council of the North; and we find that in the latter years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1601-3) complaint was made by the President of the North against Serjeant Yelverton, one of the Justices of Assize in the North. The President and Council contended that they had a Commission of Oyer and Terminer by which they had been accustomed to sit at York Assizes:—

“And therefore when the charge is to begin, they always resort to the Castle and sit with the Judges. They also sit upon the goal, the Lord President, or in his absence the Vice-President, sitting in the chief place between the Judges. But last summer assizes twelvemonth Lord Eure, then Vice-President, being sat next Baron Savile, Serjeant Yelverton coming in thrust past him, which was much noted, as he had taken place above the Vice-President at the Minster Sermon.

“Last summer assizes he omitted the names of the Lord President and Council from the goal delivery, and read publickly a Statute of 20 Rich. II, c. 3, forbidding barons and others to sit with the Justices of Assize. This was done to disgrace the Lord President, who was present. It was read at no other place in his Circuit. The Lord President therefore desires the usual commission for himself and the Council to sit with the Judges of Assize, that their authority may be stronger and the President and the Council not be disgraced.

“Proof may be drawn from the nature of their commissions, and also from past precedents, that the Lord President of the North, or in his absence the Vice-President, is to have the precedence of the Judges in the Assize Week, and also at the goal delivery, where he and the Council by virtue of their Commission of Oyer and Terminer should sit with the Judges, shewing that for the last thirty-one years there have been many examples to that effect, but not one to the contrary.”²

¹ *Co. 4th Inst.*, cap. 32.

² *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth 1601-1603, vol. cclxxxiii.

On May 30th, 1602, Matthew, Archbishop of York, wrote to the Council in reply to their objections that he had neglected their directions in his certificate concerning the place of the Vice-President at the Assizes,² but no definite conclusion was arrived at during the remaining period of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The President and Council appear to have been on very good terms with the Queen's Privy Council, if we may judge from a letter from Lord Burleigh, who was then President, to Secretary Cecil (June 29th, 1602): "You will hear by letters from this Council to the Lords of the Council that we are much troubled with two Seminaries, etc.;" and he concludes: "Thanks for your honourable dealing with me and the public respect you shewed to this place. Whilst I govern here you shall command President, Council, and Country."³

When King James I acceded to the throne of the United Kingdom he issued instructions to Edmund, Lord Sheffield, who had recently been appointed Lord President of the North, and to the Council, for the government of the Borders, and defining the duties of the President and Council; and on May 24th, 1607, the Bishop of Durham and others of the Council were added to the Commission of Oyer and Terminer, that justice might not suffer by the Commissioners of one county attending the sessions of another; and they were also added to the Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the Borders, that they might attend all the County Sessions and relieve the Commissioners;⁴ and the King about the same time issued a proclamation for the continuance of the authority and jurisdiction of the Presidencies of Wales and of the North.⁵

The King's sympathies were entirely with the exercise of his prerogative, and against the Judges in the exercise of their control by prohibition over the Court of the President and Council. In a letter from Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr. Dudeley Carleton, at Eton, dated

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, No. 82, 1602, April 22nd.

² *State Papers*, vol. cclxxxiv.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59, Mrs. Greene's Ed.

⁴ *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. xxvii, pp. 24-25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 55.

November 8th, 1608,¹ the writer says : "The King hath had two or three conferences of late with the Judges about prohibitions, as well touching the clergy and High Commission as the Courts of York and Wales, which prohibitions he would fain cut off and stretch his prerogative to the uttermost. The Judges stand well yet, so they've tackling but *finis coronat opus*."

This tackling led, in the 6th year of the King's reign (1609), to the President and Council of Wales, whose Court had been placed on a statutory footing by an Act of 34 and 35 Henry VIII, joining with the President and Council of the North in a complaint exhibited to his Majesty against the Judges, which was referred to the Lord Chief Justice (Gawdy) of the Common Pleas and Sir Edward Coke, then one of the Judges of that Court, with a signification that they should impart the same to the rest of their brethren.

The objections of the Lord President and Council of the North were founded on the authority which, they contended, was conferred upon them by the Royal Commission, and the purposes for which that authority was given. They objected to the jurisdiction exercised over them by the Courts of Law in granting prohibitions and writs of habeas corpus ; and the Judges were to give answers to these objections, and propose remedies for the past and future.

The Judges by their answers pointed out that all the authority of the President and Council was derived from their Commission without any private instructions. That they were to proceed according to law, for that is the highest discretion, and not according to their private conceits and affections. And that the clause concerning real and personal actions in all the counties named in the Commission was void in law, the King's authority by Commission being limited to a certain county or particular place ; and they justified their grant of writs of habeas corpus and prohibition on the ground that the authority of the President and Council, which was originally patent, had then become private, by referring to certain instruc-

tions which were nowhere of record, but kept in private and, as it was feared, for private respects; the danger of which to the subject was great, for if they lost their instructions the party aggrieved could not bring their cause properly before the Court which had granted the prohibition, the result being that the proceedings before the President and Council became absolute powers, and their decrees uncontrollable and without appeal.

The Judge submitted these answers to the Privy Council, who came to the resolution :

1. That the instructions should be recorded for so much as concerned either criminal causes or causes between party and party; but for matters of state, if any be, they were not to be published.

2. That both Councils should be within the survey of the Courts of Westminster.

3. That the Presidents and Councils should be at liberty to appear by counsel upon every motion made in open court upon any prohibition to either of them, and a day given to them to show cause, etc.

In answer to an objection made in favour of the Court at York, owing to its remoteness from Westminster, it was said: "What reason should there be at this time more for those parts than for the counties of Cornwall and Devon, which are more remote than York?"¹

On the 21st October following, Lord Sheffield wrote to Lord Salisbury that he had signified the King's pleasure concerning their Northern controversy to most of the Council, "but they will seek to reverse the order for precedence of the lawyers." A correspondence then followed between Lord Salisbury and Lord Sheffield, which ended in a letter from Lord Salisbury, informing Lord Sheffield that the last orders respecting precedence were to be put in execution.²

During the remainder of King James's reign he exerted his influence in favour of the authority of the President and Council. On the 24th July, 1614, he wrote to the Lord President and Judges of Assize, requiring them at their next assembly to examine what places his Majesty's

¹ *Co. Rep.*, Pt. 12-50, vol. vi, p. 263; *S. P. Grant*, Bk. cxli.

² *State Papers, Domestic*, vols. xlviii, xlix, l.

Councillors and Secretary of that Presidency anciently held, and to restore them to their right.¹ And on the 24th July, 1620, a letter was sent to the Archbishop of York, to refrain from taking precedence of the President of York, "who is his Majesty's Minister;" and to remove his pew in the church, built before that of the President, or else to resign it to the President.²

In the month of June, 1614, the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of York exhibited articles to the King touching their liberties and Courts, whereof they alleged they were interrupted by the Lord President and Council; who replied, defending the exercise of their authority and jurisdiction within the liberties of the City.³

On the accession of King Charles I, in 1625, he renewed the instructions which James I had given to the President and Council; and on August 28th, 1627, Secretary Conway sent to Attorney-General Heath and Solicitor-General Sheldon various minute particulars, in which the King was informed that the instructions to the Council in the North were not sufficient. They were to consider the same and certify their opinions.⁴

On June 22nd, 1629, the King wrote to the Lord President and Council, "that he was given to understand that the proceedings before the said Council grew much more perplexed, and suitors are oftener disappointed of the just fruits of their suits there than in the happy reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James: all of which proceed from the too-frequent granting of prohibitions out of the Courts of Common Law in Westminster. The King, therefore, admonishes the President and Council to be very careful not to transgress from their commission and instructions, and to cause their decrees to be fully and speedily performed by such ways as are used in the Court of Chancery, notwithstanding any prohibition. "The King will not have his Courts of Justice thus to clash, but in these cases of jurisdiction will himself hear and judge between them."⁵

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. lxxvii.

² *Id.*, vol. cxvi.

³ *Hist. MS. Com. Rep.* III, App., p. 62, Duke of Northumberland's MSS. at Alnwick.

⁴ *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. lxxv.

⁵ *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. lxxv, No. 23.

This sounds well as a royal manifesto ; but it was *vox et præterea nihil*, for prerogative was on the wane before Parliamentary government rising in its strength. In the session which commenced on November 3rd, 1640, the first step taken by the House of Commons was the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, who, as Viscount Wentworth, had been appointed President of the Council of the North by Charles in 1629. Pending the trial, a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons for taking away the Court of York, and the committee having voted that it was "an illegal commission, and very prejudicial to the liberty and property of His Majesty's subjects of those four Northern counties where that jurisdiction was exercised," they appointed Mr. Hyde, the chairman (afterwards Lord Clarendon) to prepare himself to deliver the opinion of the House at a conference with the House of Peers, and "to desire their concurrence in it ; and that they would thereupon be suitors to the King that there might be no more commissions of that kind granted ; for they had a great apprehension that, either upon the Earl of Strafford's resignation or his death (which they resolved should be very shortly), they should have a new President put over them." A conference was accordingly held, when Mr. Hyde stated the grounds upon which the vote of the Commons was based, in a very eloquent speech, in which he followed the reasons adduced by the Judges in their answer to the charges of the two Presidencies, and added that there were greater alterations both in the Commission and Instructions in the time of King James, when the Lord Scroop was President ; and that, when the Lord Strafford was first made President, they were more enlarged, and yet he had procured new additions to be made twice after.¹

The result of this conference was that the Peers fully concurred with the Commons in their vote : so that (says Clarendon) "there was not in many years after any attempt, or so much as mention, of another Commission." But in spite of this the King, on the death of Strafford,

¹ This speech is printed *verbatim* in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. i, fo. 115 ; and see Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.

created Viscount Savile Lord President.¹ He does not, however, appear to have acted in that capacity, for shortly afterwards the Court of the Star Chamber was abolished by an Act passed in the 17th year of Charles I (1641),² by which it was declared "that the King or his Privy Council should have no jurisdiction over any man's estate, but that the same ought to be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of Justice, and by the ordinary course of the law."

The second clause of that Act provided that the jurisdiction exercised in the Court before the President and Council of Wales, and also in the Court established in the Northern parts, with other Courts of inferior and questionable jurisdiction therein named, should, from August 1st, 1641, be also repealed and absolutely made void.

This clause, and others in the Act giving effect to it, are in the Statute Book printed within brackets, with a note that they were annexed to the original Act in a separate schedule. It would seem from this that these clauses did not obtain the full force of a legislative enactment, for the Court of the North was subsequently referred to as suspended, but not abolished; and the Court of Wales, which had been confirmed by Act of Parliament, was formally abolished by the Statute, 1 William and Mary, c. 27.

Together with the Act for the Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, was passed the Act for the Perpetual Parliament; and shortly afterwards, the Acts for the abolition of the Courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, with an Act for the reform of the Stannary Courts, closed the enactments of King Charles's reign; and the Statute Book does not again open until the Restoration of the Monarchy, under Charles II, in the year A.D. 1660.

The inhabitants of York and the Northern counties do not appear to have been of the same mind as Mr. Hyde and their representatives in Parliament, for, after the

¹ The original instructions under the King's hand, with his instructions engrossed on four skins of parchment, was in Mr. Thoresby's museum at Leeds (Notes to Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 370).

² Cited in the Editions of the Statutes as 16 Chas. I, c. 10, the year of the commencement of the session.

Restoration, several petitions were presented to the King and Council for re-erecting the Court, by the gentlemen of the county of York assembled at Quarter Sessions and Assizes, and also by the citizens, but without effect. "The King and Council were afraid of stirring" (says Drake¹) "into this affair, and Lord Chancellor Clarendon would by no means promote it."

On the 19th July, 1661, in the Session of Parliament (13 Chas. II)² which commenced on the 8th of May in that year, a Bill for erecting a Court at York was presented to the House of Lords and read a first time, but no further proceedings were taken on it; but on the 18th January, 1662, the same or a similar Bill was presented to the Lords. It desired that it should be in his Majesty's power by his Commission, under the Great Seal of England, to erect a Court, and the establishment of a President and Council in the North, the appointment of officers ranging from the counsellors to the copyers, and a list of fees to be paid by the suitors. The Bill was read the first time on the same day. On the 25th January, after long debate upon the second reading, nothing was resolved, and the Bill does not appear to have been further proceeded with,³ nor is there any record of further attempts having been made to revive the jurisdiction of the Court. Thenceforth the various forces, formerly antagonistic, were learning their mutual dependence upon one another, and settling down into that wonderful system the British Constitution.

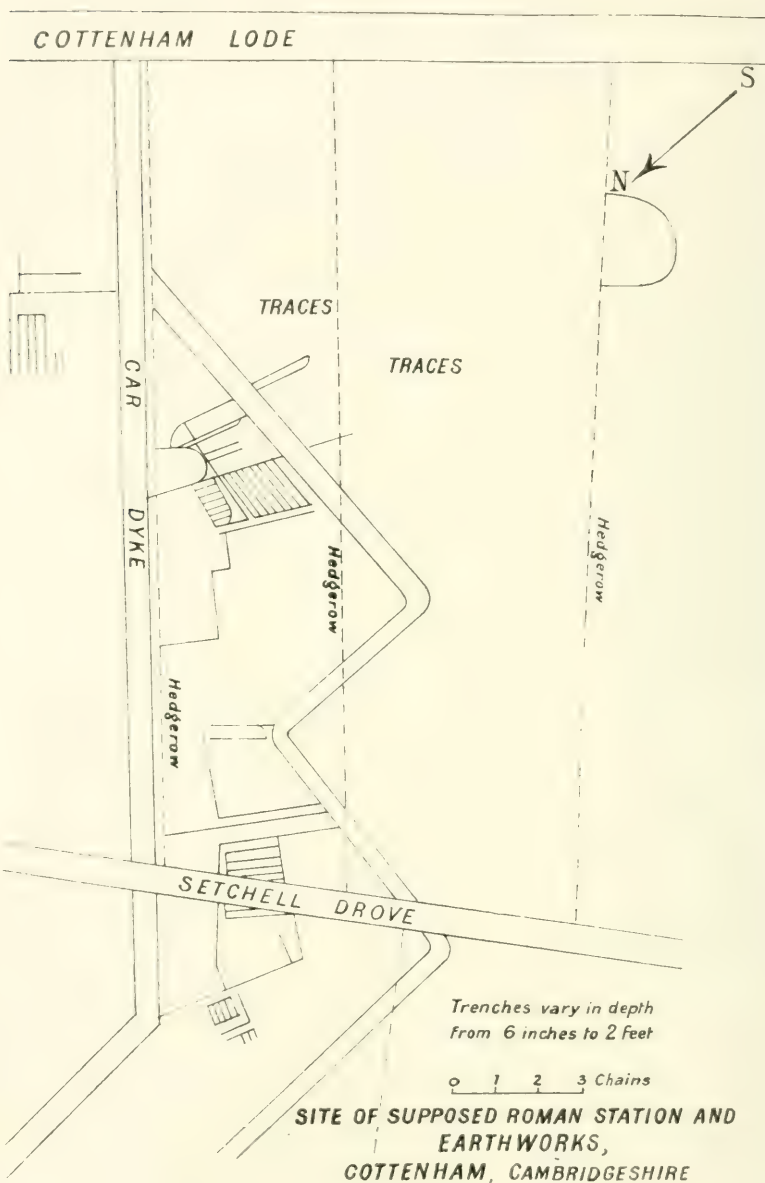
It seems strange that the incidents thus placed before you should have been so totally, or at the most perfunctorily, passed over by the historians of our own day; but their neglect is our gain. It is not only with the monuments of antiquity, but also with the political and social institutions of past times, that archæology can breathe upon their dead bones and "raise them into trembling immortality."⁴

¹ *Eboracum*, Bk. I, chap. vii.

² This was the second year dating from the Restoration, the Parliamentary Sessions being calculated from the death of Charles I.

³ *H. of L. Journ.*, xi, p. 370; *Hist. MS. Com.*, 7th Rep. App., p. 154: Drake's *Ebor.*, Append. p. xxxvi.

⁴ *Endymion*, Stephen Phillips.





ON
SOME RECENTLY-DISCOVERED EARTHWORKS,
THE
SUPPOSED SITE OF A ROMAN ENCAMPMENT AT
COTTENHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

BY REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.



HE lamented John Richard Green, to whose singularly erudite investigations in the field of history we owe so much, has, in his admirable preface to the *Making of England*, thus forcibly borne testimony to the extreme value of what I may perhaps be allowed to refer to as *territorial evidence*, in the endeavour to arrive at something like an intelligent appreciation of the conditions under which the ancient Britons became subject to Roman rule. He says (p. vii) :—

“Archæological researches on the sites of villas and towns, or along the line of road or dyke, often furnish us with evidence even more trustworthy than that of written chronicle; while the ground itself, where we can read the information it affords, is, whether in the account of the Conquest or in that of the settlement of Britain, the fullest and the most certain of documents.”

Further on, writing of “*The East Engle*” (chap. i. p. 56), Green, says :—

“Of their invasion or settlement no chronicle has come down to us.”

And he significantly adds in a note :—

“Of the conquest of *East Anglia*, *Lincolnshire*, the *Fen-land*, *Mid-Britain* and *Yorkshire*, we have no record, either on the part of conquered or conquerors. . . . We are forced, therefore, to fall back on the indications given us by archæology and by the physical character of the ground itself, in attempting a rough sketch of the English advance.”

In no more conclusive manner can we estimate the truth of the historian's contention than by following up and investigating, as best we are able, the several remaining traces of military earthworks and such-like barriers or defence-lines (of a somewhat diverse character, it must be allowed), that to a large extent may be said to intersect no inconsiderable portion of the eastern district to which allusion is made: extending, as in the case of the famous "Devil's Dyke," from marsh to woodland, and completely shutting off undesirable forms of communication. The special design of these works, formed with an avowed object of hindering the advance of foes approaching from the Fen-land, was effectually to guard the main entrance to protected territory, and hold the way secure. All this may be held to apply with well-nigh equal force to the period covered by, and immediately preceding, the Roman Conquest.

I can lay no claim to speak with authority upon that exceeding wide and difficult, but intensely interesting branch of archæology comprehended under the term "Earthworks." Neither am I competent to deal in an adequate manner with the equally important questions that are involved in a consideration of the military occupation of any part of this country by ancient races, or the conditions of village life such as were prevalent among the ancient British people. These several points, as they come before us in the course of a description of some undoubted British-Romano remains, found in a locality where there are no ancient massive walls or towering fortresses of stone, but only such features as at first sight enable us to discern (less distinctly, it may be, but none the less surely) traces of what point to an effectual state of defence, planned in those far-off days for the protection of the great extent bordered by the Fen country, as seen in the upheavals, by the ingenuity and contrivance of man, either of earth mounds of considerable size, or the singularly featureless and divergent earth-lines of mysterious origin and character, that are barely observable by the uninitiated—are presented with the object of drawing attention to what is believed to be an hitherto unnoticed feature of ancient occupation. From

the skilful and erudite treatment that similar subjects have received at the hands of one or other of the members of this Association, I am under the impression that ere long the difficulties that now surround the matter under notice may, to a great extent disappear; and that, as the outcome of this discussion, the topic may be invested with a new interest and significance. Anyhow, I trust the subject may form the basis of more worthy treatment, and ensure a fuller investigation than I am able to bestow upon it. The utmost that I can do is to present a rough outline, leaving it for others to unravel the exact nature of an earthwork system which, I may briefly state, has all the appearance of entrenchments within an enclosure, forming what seem to be a vast military station or outpost, covering at the particular spot with which we are concerned, considerably more than twenty acres of ground. It will be found upon examination of other sites in the Fen district, similarly unexplored and even unnoticed, that the like features resembling those I shall have occasion to notice present themselves, although I have not yet seen any that are at once so extensive and peculiar.

The village of Cottenham, situate some six or seven miles north of Cambridge, was formerly a place of considerable importance. It consisted of no less than six manors, the two principal belonging respectively to the Monasteries of Ely and Crowland, the former given by Uva, and the latter by Turketel, a priest of royal descent. The De Lisles of Rampton and Ridgmont possessed another manor called after their name; and in the heart of the village, hidden from view by modern buildings, may still be seen an ancient stronghold of the De Lisles, forming a double-moated entrenched earthwork, closely resembling the conspicuous formation enclosed by a wide moat at Rampton, known to have been the site of the seat of the De Lisle family (*temp.* Henry III), with which it may be said to be "in line." It is quite likely that these fortified positions were in use in the more remote periods, when the ancient Briton and the all-subduing Roman were covering the face of the country. To the north of the Parish Church of Cottenham is a waterway

known as the "Lode," which, running in a north-east direction, joins the old West River at or near the spot known as "Twenty-pence Ferry." Abutting upon this channel to the north-west is an unploughed field in which are situate the more remarkable features that distinguish the earthworks to which attention is directed. It is fortunate that the rich pasture lands of Cottenham have not wholly fallen under the plough, or we should have lost all knowledge of this interesting formation. As it is, the continuation of this particular ground is broken by cultivated soil, which, however, displays evidence of its ancient occupation in the immense quantities of broken Roman pottery that continue to be brought to the surface. The lapse of centuries has doubtless done much towards effacing the greater prominence which at one time characterised the present somewhat slight proportions that serve to distinguish what might be regarded as mere ridges of raised earth. The absence of more striking characteristics has undoubtedly been the means of diverting attention from the spot, while its isolated position has tended to keep it in the background.

It may be well, before referring at greater length to these earthworks, to treat of features in the locality which have a distinct bearing upon the main issue before us. The Car-dyke, an artificial canal some sixty feet broad, adjacent to the river Graunt (*Cam*), and to the Old Ouse or Old West River, traverses the parish of Cottenham. It rises within a hundred yards or so of the *Cam* in the adjoining parish of Waterbeach, skirting the fen above its level. It is represented in the Ordnance Survey Map as commencing a short distance from Waterbeach, where it is seen to join the *Cam*. This communication with the river, which existed in ancient times, was undoubtedly a source of very great convenience in all matters that tended to the development and well-being of the country, no less than to the success of arms. Crossing a field to the south-east of the church of Waterbeach, the depressed bed of the Car-dyke is seen close by what is known as the "Old Tillage," a deep artificial cut, from whence it is continued about a mile in the direction

of the road leading from Ely to Cambridge (the old Akeman Street). It is noticeable that the Car-dyke does not cut through the old Roman Road, where it meets it, which may be regarded as offering evidence of pre-Roman formation. It then passes through Landbeach and Chayre Fen until it reaches the Cottenham Lode, where, although all trace of it is lost, it proceeds on its way towards the Ouse, or Old West River, with which it appears for some distance to be identical, until the county of Huntingdon is touched. The Car-dyke may then be said to skirt the high land bordering on the Fens by the way of Bodsey and Horsey, near Peterborough, as a navigable canal; and it may be traced certainly to Lincoln, and perhaps as far as the river Trent, at Torksey. Throughout its course it runs close to the western margin of the Fen, and collects the water from the upland streams, thus hindering a rise above the level. Stukeley, who particularly describes "our famous Car-dyke," both in his *Palæographia*¹ and in the *Medallic History of Carausius*,² suggests (and I think with much probability) that it was the work of that famous Roman general, who either made or restored it, A.D. 291. He further states that Granta (Cambridge) was founded by Carausius at the southern end of the Car-dyke. Stukeley recognises the passage of the Car-dyke by Chare Fen through Cottenham, and also remarks on the then prevalent notion that the Ouse originally ran by the course named into the Cam. Dugdale,³ likewise, regarded the Car-dyke as a branch of the Cam. The late Professor Babington took exception to this view, affirming that⁴ "the channel of the supposed Car-dyke, after leaving the fenny land by the Cam, had not the least resemblance to a natural watercourse;" although he does not hesitate to speak of it as "undoubtedly a very ancient and magnificent work." As to the improbability of the waters of the Cam passing in this direction into the Ouse, or the Ouse or Cam streams

¹ *Palæographia*, vol. ii, p. 38.

² *Medallic History*, Part I, pp. 190, 200, and Part II, p. 137.

³ *History of Embanking*, p. 373.

⁴ *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, p. 108.

entering the Car-dyke by reason of any disparity of level, etc., I think we are now scarcely in a position to form a just opinion. Stukeley assumes that corn was conveyed along this navigable canal to the great military district of York, but any such use I am inclined to regard as of quite secondary importance. Bearing in mind the avowed object of conquest which the Romans had before them, it is extremely probable that the Car-dyke was at once protective and defensive. In its southern portion especially, now so largely obliterated, it served the purpose of keeping the upland waters under control, and generally offered effectual resistance to the incursion or assaults of an enemy. Anyhow, it would be admirably adapted for these and such-like purposes, and could hardly fail to be utilised in this way. The early history of the Fens is involved in great obscurity, but this much may be taken for granted, that the entire face of the district was anciently swept by the waters that were borne down upon it, and rendered subject to inundations more or less continuous, until men, in the extremity of their need, furthered projects calculated in some measure to control the overflow and avert disaster. This may in some degree have been effected previous to the coming of the Romans, but if so it can only have been very partially carried out. Soon after the arrival of the Romans under Julius Cæsar, B.C. 44 (probably for well-nigh the approximate five hundred years of their sojourn), works of this character, aimed at the subjugation of opposing elements, the enrichment of the territory, and the permanent settlement of themselves as a dominant power, were vigorously pushed forward and maintained. But upon the Romans quitting Britain (c. A.D. 425), a period of decadence set in; and the constant turmoil and counteraction of Briton and Saxon, and the oft-repeated invasions of the Danes, brought about a condition of things that speedily induced neglect of all such concerns as did not directly minister to the selfishness and wild folly of the several races. Thus, it may be assumed, that after some such fashion, works of utility and importance would pass into disrepair, and navigable channels become choked by inattention to simple provisions for security, and the

whole aspect would at least assume an appearance of confusion.

It is of some importance that we should pay attention to the designation "Car-dyke." Stukeley assumed "Car" to be a contraction of the name Carausius; to this Roman General, we have seen, he traced the origin of the canal. This is extremely unlikely. *Caer* is undoubtedly a corrupt or modified form of *Castra*, which appears among the Saxons as *Caster* or *Chester*. There are several instances of this process of derivation in the immediate neighbourhood, *e.g.*, *Chester-ton*, an adjacent village; the *Cair-graunth* of Nennius, otherwise the walled city of Granta-bridge or Cambridge, standing on an eminence at Castle End, and furnishing a complete survey of the southern course of the Car-dyke. It may be that the word *Caer* is purely Celtic, in which case it affords some evidence in favour of a prevailing system of fortification. The neighbouring Chare Fen (or *Caer-fen*, as I prefer to call it) also supplies in its name an additional feature of interest. Again, *Car* is ordinarily understood to signify "fen," "marsh," or "hollow;" it carries likewise the meaning (*Sansc.*) "to move," and implies circuitousness, in which latter sense we have the *Gaelic* "*car*" or "*char*" = tortuous, also the *Anglo-Saxon* "*cerran*," to turn or bend. It may be worth noting in this connection that there is an expanse of fen in the immediate neighbourhood known as "*Grunty Fen*," which I cannot help thinking is but a reappearance of the "graunth" of *Caer-graunth*, assimilated in much the same way as I imagine to be the case in regard to the "Car-dyke" and "Chare-fen."

Little need be said in reference to the word "dyke," except by way of reminder. It is not used exclusively of a hollow or excavation, but includes also the raised mound or embankment, and is so planned as to resist the pressure of the water. In the case of the Car-dyke this would be a matter of the utmost importance, as it would facilitate the gradual and unimpeded rise of the current and effectually restrain a rush of water. Indeed, the formation of the Car-dyke may be regarded very much in the light of a system of early embanking; and although

in all probability we owe it to the skill and engineering prowess of the Romans, it may have existed in a modified form from a much earlier period. This immense watercourse, of some 60 ft. wide, had doubtless its equally extensive banks in use for purposes of land traffic. In this way settlements would spring up and villages be formed in immediate connection with the dyke. The Cambridgeshire villages of Fen-ditton and Wood-ditton, where Roman remains have been found, are cases in point. Other confirmatory illustrations of this may readily be called to mind.

I have purposely dwelt on the origin and character of the Car-dyke, because it has a very important bearing upon the subject under notice. The ditch and the rampart formed a means of defence, having on the one side the well-nigh impassable fen, and on the other the barrier afforded by the thick woodland. The forest behind and the fen beyond were points of resistance, alike impenetrable except by force of arms and the exercise of military valour. Thus it is that Cæsar¹ writes:—

“Oppidum autem Britanni vocant cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa muniunt quo incursionis hostium vitundæ causa convenire consuerunt.”

The site to which I direct attention is invested with peculiar interest, owing to the fact that it very aptly fulfils the conditions alluded to in Cæsar's description. It was, moreover, I am inclined to think, a pass of great importance, secured by a double encampment on either side the Car-dyke, and that at no great distance from the Roman road (Akeman Street). The earthen fortifications thus placed at this particular spot were in all probability situate at convenient distances along the entire line of communication. The covering of a like stretch of country by a long extended vallum and ditch was a recognised tactical device on the part of the Romans, which could in no way be regarded as complete without a chain of camps, such, for example, as it is thought reached from the woodland of Essex to the fens, furnishing us with *Vandlebury* (close to Audley Inn),

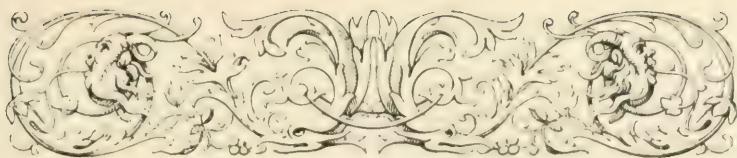
¹ *Bell. Gal.*, v, 21.

Littlebury, Chesterford, Granchester and Belsar's Camp (close by the Cottenham site), as military stations of considerable importance. In addition there was a succession of parallel ditches that had to be reckoned with. This frequently gave an advantage (of which the Romans were accustomed to avail themselves) in the choice of a coveted angular position in the work of fortification, which, as at Godmanchester, led to the diversion of the Ouse from the north to the east. Forts of this character are known to have been distributed at several points along the course of the Car-dyke, not only within Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, but beyond. The Devil's Ditch and the Fleam Dyke offer instances of constructive work formed to resist attack, and they also show a corresponding military line of entrenchment. That the conditions which called for the protection of the fen district against invaders were wholly different to those which prevailed on the coast line and elsewhere, is fully recognised. The *Notitia* has made us familiar with the latter, but very slight information only has come down to us with respect to the former; and it is in a very piecemeal fashion that we are able to gather materials which, after all, are at best disappointing and inconclusive. The juxtaposition of the British hill-fortress known as *Belsar's*, in the parish of Willingham, to the earthworks at Cottenham, and the difficulty with which we are met in regard to the precise nature of these latter entrenchments, and the people by whom, and the circumstances under which, they were constructed, offer considerable scope for ingenious surmisings. Assuming, as I think we may, that long before the advent of the Romans, the tribal feuds of the British settlers necessitated a system of earthworks of varying character (prominent in which was a method typical of the ditch and foss arrangement) calculated to outwit and embarrass by the singular intricacy of its angular formation and numerous transverses, and arranged with remarkable skill and foresight, I question very much whether we are in a position rightly to understand these devices, as we certainly are incapable of unravelling the system that apparently knew no other law but that of emergency. The predatory incursions of

refractory hordes, to which the fen must have been peculiarly liable, rendered it necessary to adopt a method of incessant and harassing warfare. Supposing that we have here the marks of a British camp, there is no reason to reject the notion that in external form the plan may have undergone some alteration. We possess the regularity of the Roman model—terrace within terrace—but we lack the round outline. I will at once proceed to give a description of what I regard as indications of such a practice in these singularly uncommon earthworks, and will leave it to others to express an opinion, and after due examination and inquiry to say how far any theory that I may suggest is worth following.

(To be continued).





THE UNDERGROUND STRONG-ROOM AT RICHBOROUGH.

BY A. R. GODDARD, ESQ., B.A.



IN a remote corner of the Isle of Thanet, overlooked by the ancient borough of Sandwich, there are certain Roman remains which have hitherto baffled the efforts of our archaeologists to investigate or understand. In spite of the invaluable monograph of Mr. Roach Smith, published so long ago as 1850, and of much useful work with spade and pick at intervals since, the great rectangular block of flint and concrete below the turf of the castrum of Rutupiae still holds its secret inviolate.

I.

(1) So much has been written of this castrum at Richborough that it will only be necessary to summarise the facts so far ascertained about this underground building. It is situate not far from the centre of the castrum, which is now known, since last year Mr. Garstang found traces of the missing wall to seaward, to have enclosed an area of about six acres. It used to be urged (as, for instance, by Mr. Planché, in his charming book, *A Corner of Kent*) that there was no need for a wall on this side, but that the heights, with the broad ocean for fosse, were protection enough. Mr. Garstang's work, however, has shown that, as in other stations on the east coast, the castrum dipped to the lower level by the sea, and that the outer wall came down the heights to complete the enclosure (Fig. 1).

The underground building is sunk below the ground level of the upper portion, and all knowledge of it had

long since passed away, until in 1792 Mr. Boys discovered the platform of concrete several feet under the surface of the present soil. Its dimensions are : 145 ft. by 104 ft. by 5 ft. in thickness, the longer sides being parallel with

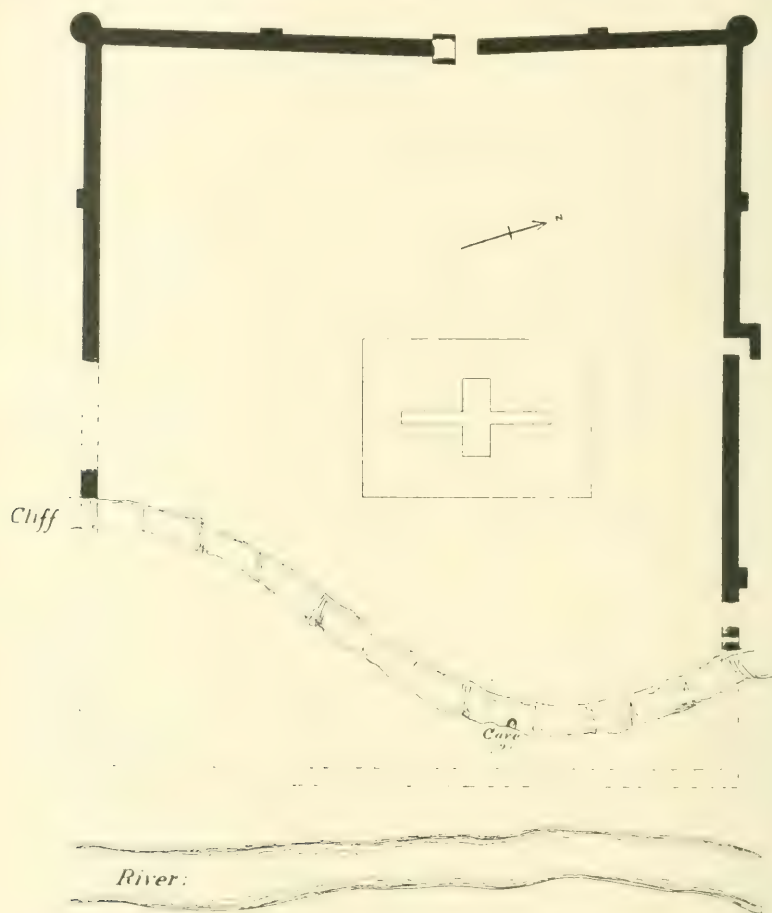


Fig. 1.—The Castrum at Richborough : Sketch Plan.

the east wall of the castrum. On this platform Mr. Boys found two large strips of concrete, placed centrally, and crossing each other; the broader strip, 47 ft. long by 22 ft. wide, appearing to be in line with the Decuman gate of the station, while the longer strip, 87 ft. long, and only 7 ft. 6 in. wide, intersects the former at a right

angle (Fig. 2). The thickness of these strips is 4 ft. 6 in., and they end abruptly, each at an equal distance of about 29 ft. from the edge of the platform.

In 1822, thirty years later, Mr. Gleig was able to

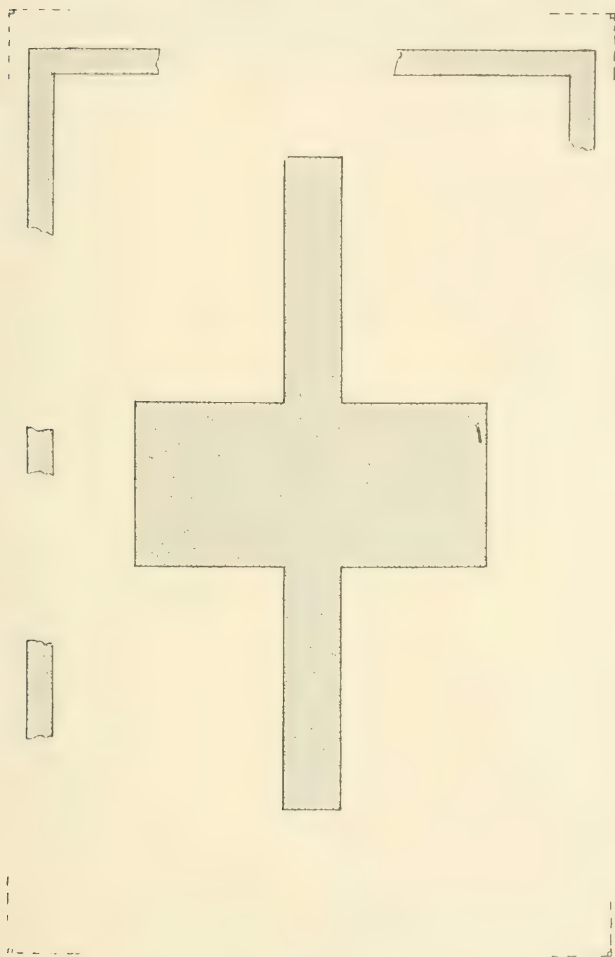


Fig. 2. — Plan of Remains upon the Surface of Platform.

add the knowledge that beneath the platform there lay a large massive building, which he proved to a depth of 21 ft. from the under-surface of the platform, where the water stopped his sinking. This building had escaped Mr. Boys, because set far back from the edge of the

platform : as later work showed, to an extent of 10 ft. on the north and south sides, and 12 ft. on the east and west sides.

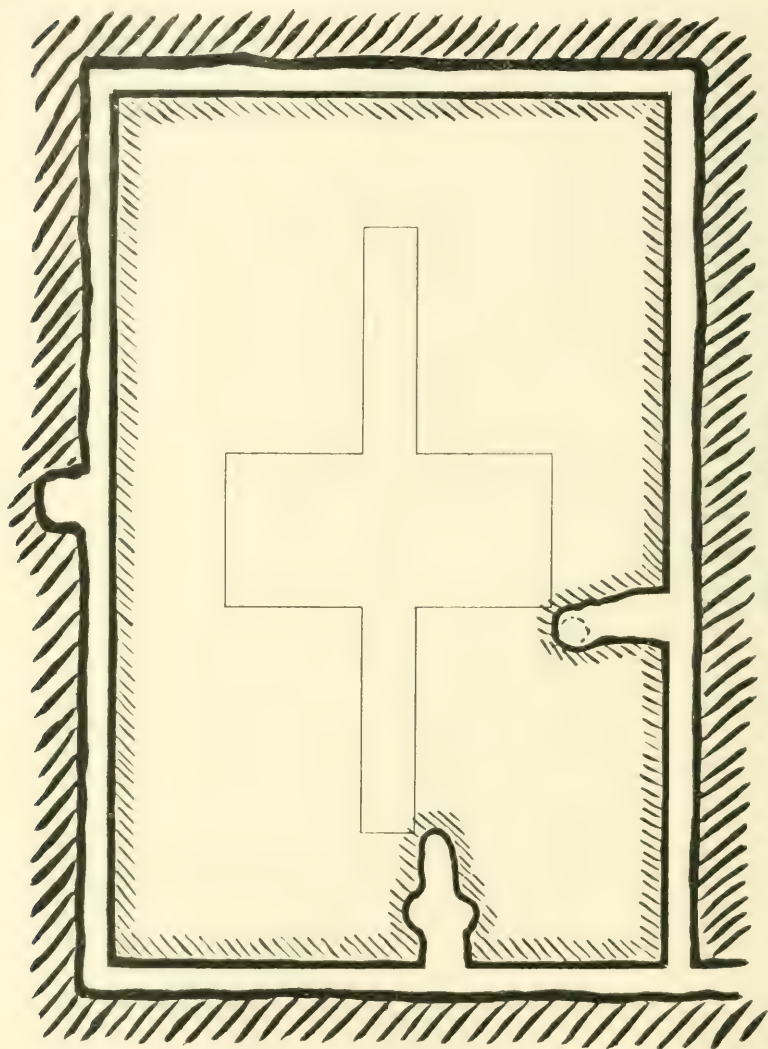


Fig. 3.—The Underground Building.

Twenty-one years later Mr. Rolfe took up the work, in 1843, and excavated a passage some 5 ft. high by 3 ft. wide in the sand, round two sides and partly round the third, under the overhanging platform (Fig. 3). He was

thus quite at the top of the building. Failing to find an entrance, he next made a horizontal cutting into the walling of flint boulders and concrete, about the centre of the east side and 17 ft. inwards; but in spite of many weeks of labour, due to the adamant hardness of the stuff, he was unable to penetrate.

After twenty-two years, in 1865, Mr. Dowker and Rev. R. Drake completed Mr. Rolfe's passage, thus making the underground gallery by which we now, with bent backs, explore the four external sides of the building. In October last I re-measured the block with a tape-line, and found the longer sides to be 126 ft., and the shorter 81 ft. Twenty-nine feet from the south-east angle, Mr. Dowker came upon a rough cutting into the south wall, about 6 ft. in. Here he sank a new shaft, and found, just below, a second cutting about 20 ft. inwards, with its floor 12 ft. down from the under side of the platform, narrowing from 6 ft. wide at the mouth to 4 ft. 6 in. at the end. Neither of these cuttings had penetrated. Possibly they were the work of foiled treasure-seekers. Mr. Dowker now continued his shaft, but the water appeared at 18 ft. down, and at 22 ft. it stopped his sinking, although, with an iron bar, he found that the wall went still lower.

The subsoil consists of Woolwich and Thanet sand, apparently virgin, quite up to the walls, except on the east side, where it had settled, leaving a space below the platform almost like a passage, in which were human bones and bits of Roman pottery. As the deneholes show us, such sand keeps its vertical face well, with very little crumbling, and the pick marks of the hewers of the passage round are often visible.

Such is a brief record of the work which revealed this strange underground block, without, however, making known its meaning or service. As to its appurtenances, the platform and concrete strips, much excavation has been done at different times in the soil above. Only last year Mr. Garstang again dug sundry new trenches over the area, which now remain open. Mr. Dowker had previously trenched over the whole surface without finding any apparent signs of an entrance. It would be well if the

strips and platform could be entirely laid bare and closely examined, to know whether the stuff shows any signs of patching or of openings filled up ; and also that cuttings should be made through both arms of the strips, to learn whether the platform continues solid underneath them.

The platform is covered all over with a rough coat of mortar, 6 in. thick, as though to receive a pavement. In fact, Mr. Garstang came upon a small portion of marble pavement on the east side, *in situ*. Both he and the other investigators found fragments of mouldings, step-nosings, flat slabs, and a few fluted casings of columns, scattered freely over the surface both of the platform and adjoining ground, all of white marble. The radius of the fluted casings is so large that the columns must have been at least 3 ft. in diameter, unless indeed they can have formed parts of *puteals*, well-guards. Broken roofing-tiles also abounded, and there were some remains of a wall which seems to have continued round all four sides of the platform, about 12 ft. or 14 ft. from its edge. The wall is 3 ft. 6 in. thick, but nothing remains more than 1 ft. 6 in. in height, where it is finished with a tile. On some of the marble slabs numerals appear, and Mr. Dowker also speaks of finding fragments of a colossal statue of bronze. With such scanty data, it is difficult to attempt any restoration of the upper buildings on the area, but it is evident they must have been of a public and decorative character, with perhaps—as Mr. Garstang suggests—an enclosing colonnade.

The subterranean structure appears on Fig. 3, with the cuttings shown, in place, and the small 5 in. square rebates at the corners for the setting-out posts, which continued up through the platform, thus proving that both were part of one work. Can it be that the traces of these wooden posts first gave rise to the theory of a timber-framed “pharos” on this mighty foundation ?

(II.) At this point we are faced with the crux of the whole problem. Was this underground building *hollow* or *solid* ? At first it was hoped that it was hollow, but when the probing-holes were found to go 20 ft. into it without perforating, some investigators were satisfied

that it was solid: an immense cube, and a foundation for some phenomenal erection on the top, of which all trace and even all tradition have long since vanished. As the sea was the dominant factor of the site in Roman days a giant light-tower was gradually evolved, to guide the ocean traffic in and out of the famous port of Rutupiae. There are several considerations which severely discount this pharos theory.

A map, prepared by Mr. Dowker, shows the dominion of the sea in ancient times, derived from the actual heights of outstanding land above sea-level.¹ The chief feature of this reconstructive map is the long pebbly breakwater of Stonar Beach, which held back the outer sea of the exterior bay, and permitted entrance to the interior port by a passage near the spit on which Sandwich afterwards arose, with the vanished town of Stonar on the opposite side of the passage. Through this mouth of the bay the river Stour still runs. The shipping would thus pass from the wild sea without to a broad and safe harbourage within, under the walls of the castrum; "*statio tranquilla*," as Ammianus calls it; and might then thread the lagoons behind the Isle of Thanet into the Thames estuary at Reculvers.

Granting the correctness of Mr. Dowker's map, and Stonar Beach still forms a natural causeway along which the high road from Ramsgate to Sandwich now runs, the main sea was then at least a mile from the position of the supposed pharos, which would have done better service on some height of the outer coast. Remains of a small Roman tower were actually found at Worth; and as a light here would have guided the mariners through the entrance channel, the site justifies the theory of Mr. Dowker that this tower was indeed a pharos. Moreover, even if some light were needed for the inner bay, why should it have required any very titanic foundation? If the Romans were uneasy as to their subsoil, why should they have given but scanty footings in the shallowest of trenches to their great outer walls, nearly 30 ft. in height and 11 ft. in thickness?

In Kanitz's *Servia*, there is an interesting account of

¹ See *Arch. Cant.*, vol. xxii, p. 140.

an extensive Roman castrum at Gamzigrad, near Zaitchar, which, although larger, has much in common with the station at Richborough, in its round corner towers and oblong enclosure. Great remains of the Gamzigrad station are still to be seen, as Kanitz's drawing shows. Now, nearly in the same relative position in the centre, a massive substructure still exists, which, although unexcavated, is very solid and conspicuous (1867). Its dimensions are 132 ft. by 84 ft., as against 126 ft. by 81 ft., of the Richborough building. Gamzigrad is far inland, so clearly there was no giant pharos there.

The reason for assuming this Richborough block to be solid is, that the cuttings into it have not yet proved the contrary. Mr. Roach Smith never believed it to be anything else than hollow. Towards the end of his useful life, in addressing a meeting of the Kent Archaeological Society on the spot, in 1885, he said :—"That such an extent of masonry could have been a mere foundation, I think untenable. I still adhere to my old notion that the interior is hollow, and that there is an opening to it as yet undiscovered—an opening probably on the top, now closed up."

(III.) Perhaps the best way of arriving at some solution is to put ourselves back into the place of the old Roman workers who sunk this building so deep into their hill. There was first the oblong excavation to be made—perhaps some 30 ft. deep. But at 18 ft. down the water appears, and it may have appeared even sooner then. What would they do when they reached it? Masons may lay walls under water, but ordinary excavation can hardly be done, especially in *sand*, several feet under the surface of a small lake. Fortunately, there was a way of getting rid of the intruding element, as there is a way now. Within 30 yards of them there is the cliff, and its bottom was lower than the bottom of their building area. Why should they not run drains through to carry off the surplus water into the sea, and thus prevent flooding? If, however, water was a hindrance, it was also a help. Where did the old builders obtain the large quantities of water that must have gone to make the mortar for these vast constructions? They must of

necessity have contrived for some storage, even during their operations, and it could not have been difficult. They might commence to lay their concrete bottom in the centre on such parts as they had made fairly free of water, laying it so thick and sound as to prevent any after filtration upwards. Possibly they turned the water into temporary tanks, until their solid basis was ready to receive the side walls, which they may have built of great thickness, to be proof against percolation, and also to serve as retaining-walls. The work is done in fairly regular courses of flint boulders, flushed with mortar without broken tile in it; now intensely hard, and butting against the virgin sand all round. Thus it must have been done by workers *within the area*. This slight sketch of the difficulties to be overcome makes the conviction overwhelming that the Romans were not going to incur a mighty waste of material and labour in piling up a superfluously solid cube. Even as a foundation, a vaulted structure would serve all ends, and its interior could then be turned to some useful purpose.

The thought of those channels carrying off the water on the lowest level suggests the convenience of an approach to this building, if hollow, from beneath. Whether or no there was a communication with the castrum above, there were obvious advantages in having one near the quays below. Mr. Dowker refers to certain buildings "buried at a much greater depth than elsewhere," which were broken up when the railway workers cut away that corner of the cliff, as possibly having to do with some entrance to the underground block. The settlement of the subsoil on this east side may also be significant.

(iv.) If, then, it be assumed that this building is hollow, we are here led to ask to what ends might such a strong vaulted chamber, or series of chambers, have been put. Mr. Roach Smith suggested a granary, or an arsenal. Two other possibilities occur from the very necessities of the case. The building may have been for the storage of water, a great *Piscina*, or reservoir; or it may have been the strong-room of the station, its *Aerarium*.

1. To take the idea of a Piscina first. The water supply must have been a highly important matter, as Richborough itself stood on an island amid surrounding sea and salt lagoons. Battely tells how, in his day, when the cliff fell away at Reculvers, certain vaults were exposed, and also several rain-water cisterns, strongly built of oak, 12 ft. high, and 12 ft. square, duly puddled at bottom, in which Roman *débris* was found, and a strigil. He suggests that, as the spring water there was brackish, they stored the rain water for drinking. At Richborough the springs in the enclosure are now pure, but perhaps the nearness of the sea in olden times affected them; when there would be all the more need for storing the rain water. By way of precedent, we may cite two famous Roman Piscinæ on the coast of Italy, still in existence, and both of them near ancient harbours. One is at Fermo, near the old "Castellum Fermanum" on the Adriatic, in two stories, of three vaulted chambers.

The "Piscina Mirabile," near Baiæ, is 220 ft. long by 83 ft. broad, in one storey, having four rows of twelve columns supporting its vaults, with a sediment tank running the whole length of the building, and with two flights of forty steps from the top to the floor. It stored the water brought by the Julian aqueduct from Serino, fifty miles away; and Murray says: "It is in good preservation, firm and massive as on the day when it first supplied water to the Roman fleet (at Misenum) eighteen centuries ago." Both these reservoirs were sunk below the surface of a hill.

What, then, if this structure at Richborough should have been a great Piscina, to supply water to the shipping below and for the service of the garrison above? The various Roman methods for raising water are well known, under the term "Antlia." The wooden wheels, of 15 ft. diameter, with hollow felloes, found in the copper mines at Tharsis, may be quoted in illustration. A portion of one of them is now at the British Museum. By some such means the water might have been raised from the Piscina into tanks or channels on the broad piazza above.

The Richborough building may have been subdivided

by cross-walls, and the concrete strips above may guide us in placing them. Such an arrangement might suit either of the two purposes named. If a Piscina, the spaces below the strips may have reached to the sides to form adits or wells to receive the springs, with perhaps flights of steps down the narrower passages.

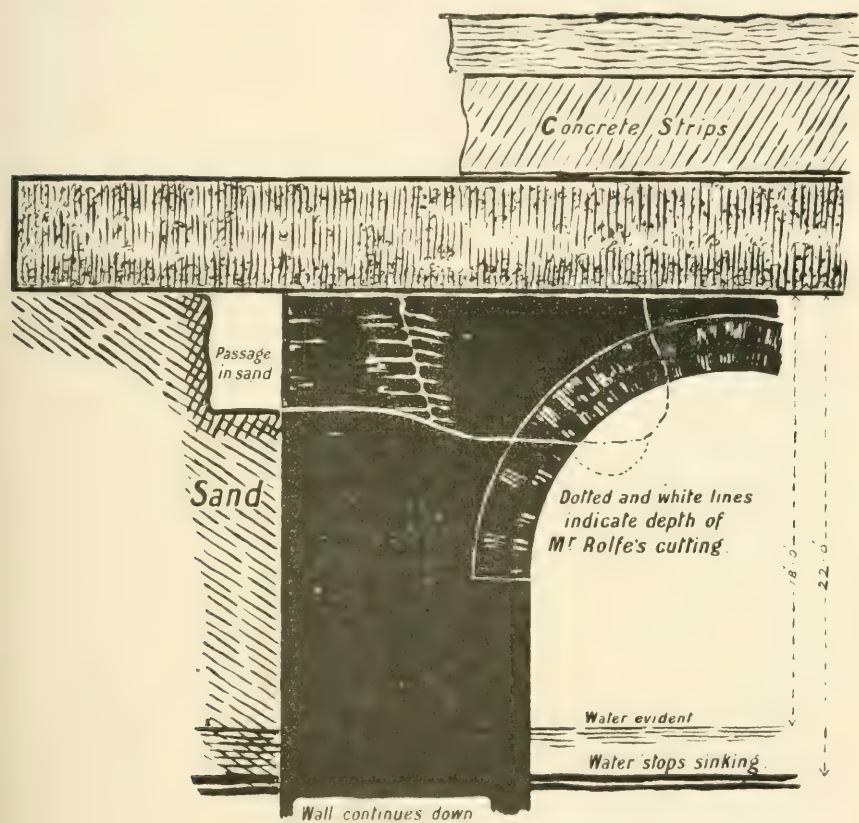


Fig. 4.—Platform and Suggested Vault below it.

Communication between the chambers could easily be planned, and there may have been two storeys, in which case the building may go a good deal deeper than any of the soundings. The cuttings may have met the cross walls, and thus have failed to penetrate. The outer walls may exceed 20 ft. in thickness, but in the section (Fig. 4) only 11 ft. is allowed. The walls of the great

corner towers at Gamzigrad, 180 ft. in diameter, were 24 ft. thick. This section suggests a possible scheme for the vaulting of the building, showing the water-line and the passage in the sand at the top. It also shows, in dotted lines, Mr. Rolfe's cutting, and how much of it may have been in the thickness of the vault. The white lines appearing in the thickness of the wall show a break in the coursing of the flint boulders, which I traced on both sides of the cutting. This break may confirm this theory of vaulting, for it suggests that the outer part may have been carried up first, and the stuff at the haunches filled in after the arches had been turned on their centrings, probably in tiles.

One essential feature of such reservoirs has yet to be discovered. They require openings at the top, to allow free passage of air as the water flows in and out, and also to keep it sweet. Only a fuller investigation of the concrete strips can settle this point.

2. If further search should not find any such apertures, we are then thrown back upon the second idea, that the building may have been some kind of storage vaults for the station, perhaps its *Aerarium*.

Rutupiae was a very important centre, as the great point of connection with Gaul, into which the revenues of Britain must have passed. The *Notitia* shows that in normal times, toward the end of the Roman dominion, the Vicar of Britain was under the *Praefectus Praetorii Galliarum*, whose headquarters were first at Trêves, and later at Arles. Some kind of strong room must have been a necessity for the bullion or moneys awaiting transit, especially as numismatists tell us that many coins furnish evidence of there having been a mint at Rutupiae. In this connection, Mr. Garstang's discovery, last year, of a silver ingot, one Roman pound in weight, and stamped with the name of its *officina*, is very interesting. It was found three yards from the east side of the platform, and I can only learn of one other of the kind having come to light in Britain, which was dug up from the foundations of buildings at the Tower, much mutilated.

(To be continued).



THE EARLY HISTORY AND ASSOCIATIONS OF LINDISFARNE, OR HOLY ISLAND.

BY REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S.L.

(Read at the Newcastle Congress, July 23rd, 1901.)



THE history of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, as it was subsequently called, is altogether ecclesiastical, and I must therefore ask pardon for what will prove almost entirely an excursion into church history. It commences with the year A.D. 635, when St. Aidan, on the invitation of Oswald, King of Northumbria, left his other island home in Iona, and, doubtless moved by the associations of the spot, chose it for the centre of his mission work among the heathen Angles of the Northumbrian kingdom.

Nor can we wonder at the choice made by the monk from St. Columba's Isle. Uninhabited, probably, till then, the haunt only of sea-birds, and perhaps an occasional fisherman from the adjoining mainland, its very name of Lindisfarne was an attraction, meaning, as some suppose, "a place of retreat by the brook Lindis," which brook still meanders across the sands, though its course has changed from time to time, till it finds its way to the sea south of the island.¹

¹ Camden's description of Lindisfarne holds good to-day, and probably was true of St. Aidan's time also :—

"On the coast of Northumberland, over against the river *Lindi*, we see *Lindisfarne*, called by the Britons *Inis Medicante*, which (as Bede says) is twice *isle* and twice *continent* in one day ; being encompass'd with water at every flow, and dry at every ebb. Whereupon he calls it very aptly, a *semi-isle*. Towards the west it is very narrow, and left

Its position, too, was an added attraction; for though it was, then as now, sufficient of an island to be safe from the intrusion of worldliness and from unwelcome visitors, it was yet not so remote as Iona, being accessible from the mainland twice in the day, by wading across the sands, as the villagers do now; and it was not very far from, and exactly opposite to, the Royal Castle of Bam-borough.

Sir Walter Scott's lines recur involuntarily to the mind, and have been true through all the ages of its history, since first St. Aidan trod its soil, made sacred in after-years by the blood of his successors:—

“The tide did now its flood-mark gain,
And girdled in the Saint's domain;
For, with the flow and ebb, its stile
Varies from continent to isle;
Dry-shod, o'er sands, twice every day,
The pilgrims to the shrine find way;
Twice every day the waves efface,
Of staves and sandalled feet the trace.”

So those who, like the writer, have seen it bathed in the sunlight, lying like a jewel set in the azure main, can well sympathise with the feeling that made St. Aidan fix upon it for his place of retreat, to which he and his companions could return when they were wearied with their mission work among the rude mountaineers of Northumbria.

But when St. Aidan, obeying the summons of Oswald, came to Lindisfarne, he came to a country in which the

wholly to the rabbits, which is joined to the east part (where it is much broader), by a very small slip of land; towards the south,” he continues, “it has a small town, with a church and castle. Under the town lies a good commodious harbour, defended by a fort upon a hill to the south-east. This island, from the monks, is called Holy Island, of which Alcuin (A.D. 776) in a letter to Egelred (Ethelred, 774-779), King of Northumberland, writes thus:—‘*The most venerable place in Britain is left to the mercy of the Pagans; and where the Christian religion was first preached in this country, after St. Paulinus left York, there we have suffer'd its destruction to begin.*’”

The western end is called the “Snook,” and was at one time probably much nearer the mainland, if not attached. The eastern end beyond the town is called the “Heugh,” and this was probably at one time a continuous hill with St. Cuthbert's Island. Both are formed of the same basaltic rock.

seeds of Christian teaching had already been planted by others, but in which they had suffered a rude shock, and had been almost uprooted by a fierce storm of heathen resentment. In order to understand the situation, we must go back a little in the history. Those who are familiar with all the details of these far-off times will pardon this backward glance, for the sake of those who have not studied, or who have forgotten, the early history of Christianity in England.

It was in the year 625 that Eadwine, the powerful King of Northumbria, asked for the hand of Ethelburga, daughter of Eadbald, King of Kent, in marriage. Kent was now a Christian kingdom, twenty-eight years having passed since the landing of St. Augustine in 597, and Eadbald refused to accede to Eadwine's request unless his daughter was permitted the free exercise of her faith. This was granted, and in July, 625, Paulinus, one of the companions of Augustine, was consecrated missionary Bishop of Northumbria, and set out for the north, accompanied by one James, a deacon, and the young princess. The story of the meeting near York, when, in the presence of the Northumbrian thegns, Paulinus convinced Coifi, the priest of Thor, of the truth of the new religion, is so well known that I need only refer to it.

As a result, Eadwine built the first wooden church on the spot where York Minster now stands, and was baptised in 627. But the triumph of Christianity and of Paulinus was short-lived.

In 633 Eadwine was defeated and slain at Heathfield, in Northumbria, by the united armies of Penda, the ferocious and heathen King of Mercia, and of Cadwallon, the Christian King of North Wales, and for a year the whole country was laid waste by the invaders. Paulinus retired to Kent, with the widowed Queen Ethelburga, and Roman Christianity in Northumbria came to an end.

But relief was close at hand, for in the very next year Oswald, the nephew of Eadwine, ascended the throne of Northumbria, and, in re-introducing Christianity to his subjects he turned, not to the Roman mission, but to the other great branch of the Catholic Church then in these islands, viz., the Celtic, and to its chief representative,

and most active missionary body, the Irish mission of St. Columba on Iona.

The reason is not far to seek. Oswald was the son of Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, and was born in 604. In 617, Ethelfrith was slain in battle by Redwald, King of East Anglia, and the young Eadwine, who was the lawful king, but had been driven out by his uncle Ethelfrith, and had taken refuge with Redwald, was restored to the throne. Oswald and his brothers were compelled to take refuge among the northern Celts. There they were baptised, and when at the end of eighteen years, Oswald came to the throne, it was natural that he should turn to the country in which he had found refuge, and to the form of Christianity in which he had been baptised, and which he loved, to find teachers for his people; thus he applied to the monastery of Iona for a bishop. The brother first sent was quickly disgusted with the rude manners and half-heathen customs of the Northumbrians, and returned to announce the failure and hopelessness of his mission, without having even seen Oswald. "Was it their stubbornness or your severity?" exclaimed a monk named Aidan, and hardly were the words spoken than he was hailed as Bishop of the Northumbrians; and, submitting to the will of his brethren he was duly consecrated, and made his way forthwith to Oswald at his fortress city of Bamborough. It was, no doubt, from the rock-fortress of Bamborough that Aidan looked across the waves, and seeing almost at his feet the fair island that reminded him of his own island-home of Iona, resolved to fix his Bishop's stool at Lindisfarne.

A beautiful story is told of Oswald: how, that being at a place on the Roman Wall, still called Oswald, he had a dream, in which he saw St. Columba in shining garments, and with greater than human majesty. He told him to be of good courage, and ended by saying: "Thou shalt reign, and thou shalt conquer." This Oswald took as a sign from heaven that he should conquer in the Christian sense, and accordingly he gave himself to the work of helping Aidan with whole-hearted zeal and devotion. He accompanied the Saint on many of his journeys; and

we are told that when Aidan would sometimes wax faint and despondent at his ill-success in mastering the Northumbrian tongue, Oswald would tell him to preach in his own Celtic language, and he would interpret for him. Bede becomes eloquent in his account of the mission work of Oswald and Aidan. Saint and King were both beautiful characters; and it was an ill day for Northumbria when Oswald, continuing the war against the still heathen Penda, was at length slain in 642, as some suppose, at Oswestry—falling on his knees and praying, “Gracious God, have mercy on their souls.” so that it became a proverb, “God have mercy on their souls, as said King Oswald.”

Bede calls Oswald emphatically “the most Christian king of the Northumbrians,” and he might well be called so, as the restorer of the Christian faith among his people; but, being of the type he had learnt in Scotland, it was very different in many important respects from the form which they had previously learnt from Paulinus. In essence the same, owning the same creeds, claiming the same Apostolic origin, but in spirit, in ideal, in practise different. The Celtic Church differed from the Roman not only in adhering to the Eastern rather than accepting the Western mode of reckoning Easter, and in minor details, such as the mode of tonsure of the clergy, but in the whole method and order of Church government.

The bishops, contrary to the Roman rule, had no territorial jurisdiction, though the office was carefully maintained for the purposes of ordination and confirmation. The Church founded among the heathen Irish by St. Patrick, about 425, was a missionary church, and modelled, as the best authorities allow, on the teaching he had received at the monastic establishment of St. Ninian, at *Candida Casa*, now Whithorn, in Galloway.

This same characteristic was borne back to Scotland by St. Columba in the sixth century, and the marks of this specially evolved form of church life cannot be better described than in the following words:—“It was a missionary church, not diocesan but monastic, with an abbot, who was a presbyter, at its head.”

The episcopal office was, as we have said, retained, but

it had no connection with the land. It spread, not by the erection of parishes, and the care of parochial clergy, but by the reproduction of similar monasteries, the homes of those who adopted a religious life, the only school in days of war. It preferred islands for its monasteries, for safety, and, in the case of some of its members, who sought, in the language of those times, "a desert in the ocean," as hermitages where they might live and die apart from the world. (Such a hermitage may be seen on St. Cuthbert's Isle.) But these were exceptions. The idea of the Celtic monastery was that of a Christian celibate society. Its inmates regarded themselves as being, and often were, members of a family or clan, keeping the customs of their race so far as consistent with celibacy and religious discipline. Of eleven successors of St. Columba, nine were his kin.

The rule, though its confession is primitive, adapted to an infant and isolated church planted in a heathen world, did not differ greatly from that of later orders. Implicit obedience to the superior, poverty, chastity, hospitality, were the chief precepts. The observance of Easter according to the ancient cycle, the use of the semi-circular instead of the coronal tonsure, a peculiar ritual for mass and baptism, were its chief deviations from the use of the Catholic Church as fixed by the Nicene canon, to which it gave a reluctant adhesion in the eighth century. Frequent prayer, the singing of hymns and psalms, reading and copying the scriptures, teaching children and novices, were the principal occupations of the monks, with the labour required for the provision and service of food—women being excluded. There were, however, establishments of nuns, also, and very often in the same locality. St. Bridget, Abbess of Kildare, was their foundress, and among their order may be mentioned St. Hilda, who for a short time (about 649) was at Lindisfarne, having been summoned thither by St. Aidan from France.

It was this missionary monastic Christianity that Aidan brought with him from Scotland, and with it came, as we have said, a fresh spirit and a new ideal into the English Church.

As has been stated by Wakeman in his *History of the Church of England*, to one trained in the traditions of Roman culture, like St. Augustine or Paulinus, Christianity presented itself chiefly as the *civitas Dei*, the kingdom of God set up in the world. It enlisted in its cause the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism. Its law and organisation were proofs of its title to rule. The Roman could not conceive of a church without territorial organisation, orderly government, due gradation of power. But the channels which directed the flow of energy also confined it, and checked instead of regulating that outburst of enthusiastic zeal which, regardless of consequences, and contemptuous of rule and precedent, conquers the world with splendid audacity. It was this power that the Scotch-Irish Church brought into England, when St. Aidan fixed his humble dwelling at Lindisfarne.

It was needed to infuse life and energy into the embers of Latin Christianity in the North of England, but by itself it was incomplete. It could arouse, but it could not maintain; it could win, but it could not govern. The combination of Celtic self-sacrifice and zeal with the discipline and culture of Rome was needed, before the English Church could awake to the full responsibilities of her high mission. The Celtic Church, tribal and monastic, was wanting in the sense of unity and catholicity. The type of Christianity it produced was ascetic, saintly, personal.

Without the help of Rome, there could never have been built up in England a great organic and cultured Church, able to hold its own among the storms of Christendom. Without the help of the Saints of Iona and Lindisfarne, that Church would have been but a mechanism of bone and flesh, wanting the life-giving soul. Thus, while it was good that Oswald infused the enthusiasm of Celtic devotion into English Christianity, it was also well that at the Council of Whitby, in 664, the Celtic Church in England accepted the ruling and order of Rome.

But before that time Aidan was dead. His friend and patron Oswald was killed, as we have seen, in 642, and in 643 Penda even penetrated to Bamborough itself, and

only failed to burn it to the ground, through a change of wind brought about—it was said—by the prayers of the Saint of Lindisfarne. In 651, Oswiu murdered the pious Oswin, the successor of Oswald, and took the throne of Northumbria, and this broke Aidan's heart. Twelve days after, he was seized by a mortal attack, in the church of Bamborough. Stretched out on the ground, covered by a sheet, with his head supported by a buttress of the church, he breathed his last in true soldier fashion, almost before his attendants realised his danger.

His was, as we have said, a beautiful character, the perfect type of ascetic Christianity. Like St. Francis of Assisi, six centuries later, he embraced holy poverty as his bride. Like him, he chose a place of retirement far from the haunts of men, for meditation and prayer, and this island of Lindisfarne, with its little church and school, and its collection of rude huts, soon equalled, in the love and veneration of the northern English, the mother-foundation of Iona itself. Like him he made his missionary journeys on foot, with his companions, throughout the length and breadth of Northumbria, disdaining the use of a horse, and beguiling the tediousness of the way with hymns and spiritual converse. In his devotion to God lies the secret of his power.

He was fortunate in finding in King Oswald a man like-minded with himself. Both had been trained in the same school, and both combined the ascetic spirit with strenuous work. If Oswald divided his Easter meal and the silver dish on which it was served with the hungry poor clamouring at his palace gates, receiving in return the benediction of St. Aidan, and the prayer that his right arm might never grow old (*nunquam inceterescat*)—a prayer, as tradition tells, marvellously fulfilled after the battle in which he was slain—or if we hear of him gladly interpreting the sermons of St. Aidan to his thegns, he was also mindful of the dignity of his crown, and lost his life warring against the heathen Mercians.

If St. Aidan chose rather this island of Lindisfarne than the royal city of Bamborough for his home, preferring to live as a simple monk-bishop than at the court of even a saintly king, yet at the same time he was ever

engaged in the work of his See, training under his own eye a school of twelve picked boys born in the island, travelling on foot over his huge and difficult diocese, preaching, teaching, confirming as opportunity served, gathering round him bands of devoted followers, until the Holy Island of Lindisfarne—as men even then began to call it—became a second Iona, and Aidan a second Columba.

Of Aidan's buildings here there is no record whatever; some small chapel or cell was probably reared by him, and this would be surrounded by the buildings of the monastery: rude huts, with rough stone foundations, laid together without mortar, the walls of unhewn logs and wood, the roofs of thatch, as we are told were the buildings of his successors, and these probably continued in much the same condition until all were destroyed by the Danes in 875.

Fifteen¹ successors of St. Aidan, in unbroken line, sat on the throne of Lindisfarne. The third was Colman, who was present at the Council of Whitby in 664, which met, at the invitation of Oswiu, to try and heal the differences between the Celtic and Roman Churches. The question at issue was narrowed to the observance of Easter, and Wilfrid easily demolished the arguments of Colman, to the satisfaction of Oswiu and his court.

Colman claimed that he followed the practice handed down from St. John; Wilfrid, that his tradition was derived from St. Peter, to whom had been committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven. "For my part," said Oswiu, "I shall obey the rulings of that doorkeeper of yours, lest when I come to the doors of the kingdom, I shall find no one to unbar them for me."

Both sides were equally illogical and unhistorical; but the side of Rome was the side of civilisation and progress, and the decision was pregnant with great issues, hereafter to be born from the womb of the future.

Colman, unable to change his point of view, left his See, and retired with his friends and the relics of St. Aidan, to Iona. Henceforth Lindisfarne ceased to be the first bishopric in Northumbria, and became subordi-

¹ *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, vol. i, New Ser., p. 233. Camden says "eleven."

nate to the primatial See of York. Colman was succeeded by Tuda, of whom nothing is known except that he succumbed within a year to the plague. After Tuda's death, the See of Lindisfarne was vacant for a time, and all Northumbria was included in the See of York; but Wilfrid, finding this too large and cumbersome, in 680 induced Egfrid, the successor of Oswiu, to consent to its being filled again, and Eata was the first of the new line of bishops.

Eata was the founder of Melrose, and it was from Melrose that St. Cuthbert came in the next reign, about 670, to be prior, and subsequently, in 685, on the death of Eata, to be the greatest of the bishops of Lindisfarne, and, in after-days, the patron saint of Durham, and, as an old writer puts it, "the tutelar divinity of the North." He was consecrated by Theodore, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, and died in his lonely retreat on Farne Island, whither he had retired shortly before, in 687, after only holding the See two years. But his reputation had been previously made, and those two years were sufficient to establish his undying hold upon the sturdy hearts of northern England. The story of St. Cuthbert's life is well known, and forms one of the most interesting passages in Bede's graphic pages.

The year of his birth is uncertain, but it was in 664 that he was made prior of Melrose. Here, in the wild districts between Tweed and Forth, he carried on the same missionary labours that Aidan had performed in Northumbria, and that Wilfrid was then doing among the South Saxons. He was ever indefatigable in his journeys to hamlets distant and difficult of access; unsparing of himself, winning the hardened, cheering the despairing, conquering all hearts by the grace of his personality and the holiness of his life. He was everywhere recognised as a true saint; one of those rare souls permitted from time to time to adorn the earth. These years were the happiest, if not the most useful, of St. Cuthbert's life, and it was with regret that he removed to Lindisfarne, at Eata's request, to restore it to its former discipline, from which it had somewhat fallen away in those troublous times.

The task was not an easy one, for the old monks were jealous of the new prior, and he had to win his way by the force of his life and unlimited patience and good temper. One by one his opponents melted away, discipline was restored, and the monastery once more became a pattern to the surrounding districts. Then, in 676, Cuthbert, who had long felt the call to the solitary life, and had satisfied it as well as he was able, by retiring from time to time to "St. Cuthbert's Isle," thought that he might safely obey, and moved to the neighbouring but more distant island of Farne, seven miles from Holy Island, to the south-east, and two from Bamborough city, building for himself a poor hut of stone and turf,¹ in which he lived for nine years, occupying his time with devotion, attending to his own simple wants, and receiving occasional visitors, whom spiritual difficulties brought to ask his counsel and prayers. Such a life was its own sermon, appealing to the hearts of his contemporaries as perhaps it would not appeal to us to-day; and, accordingly, when in 685 the See of Lindisfarne fell vacant, all men cried out for Cuthbert. It was not, however, till the King in person, with his thegns and clergy, crossed over to Lindisfarne, and from thence, accompanied by the brethren, proceeded to the Saint's cell on Farne, and on their knees begged him to bow his head to the yoke of the episcopate, that Cuthbert yielded. For two weary years he held the office, fulfilling its duties with an energy and zeal remarkable in a man so wasted as he had become; but by Christmas, 686, he was back again at Farne. For a month or two he continued to receive the visits of the brethren, but refused to allow any to remain with him—as a hermit he had lived, and as a hermit he would die.

The end came in March, 687, and thenceforth the relics

¹ Camden quotes Bede to this effect: "*In hoc Cuthbertus condidit civitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac civitate congruas erexit. Erat enim aedificium situ penè rotundum a muro usque ad murum mensura quatuor, vel quinque, perticarum distentum. Murus ipse de foris altior longitudine stantis hominis; nam intrinsicus immanem cædendo rupum multo illum fecit altiorem, quatenus ad cohibendam oculorum, sive cogitationum lasciviam sufficeret.*" The "*civitas*" is certainly somewhat hyperbolic!

of St. Cuthbert were the most precious possession of Lindisfarne, until the Danes drove him forth in his coffin to find his last resting-place, after many vicissitudes, in the great shrine behind the high altar in his own cathedral church at Durham.

Of the remaining history of Lindisfarne in Northumbrian days, there is little to tell. No other of its bishops were renowned like Aidan and Cuthbert; it produced no writer like Bede; its monks continued to live the saintly life, and to act as teachers to all the surrounding district; but no name stands out from among the rest. As time went on, the relics of St. Cuthbert became the object of veneration, and pilgrims flocked to worship at his shrine from all the country-side and from far distant shires, and even from foreign lands, to the no small profit, doubtless, of the brethren of Lindisfarne, and no doubt also somewhat to the deterioration of their character; for miracles began to be ascribed to the Saint, and the ascription of miracles is like the letting out of water, easy to begin, but, especially in a superstitious age, difficult to give bounds to.

As time went on troubles commenced, and the peaceful lives of the monks were harassed by an ever-increasing dread of the all-devouring Northmen; but in quiet times the monks found occupation for the hours not devoted to prayer and teaching, in copying out the books of Holy Scripture; and one of the most cherished possessions of the nation, now in the British Museum, is that priceless volume, bequeathed to us by the pious labours of the monks of Lindisfarne, and known as the "Lindisfarne Gospels." Many of you have doubtless seen it; it has been often described;¹ but I may remind you that it was written here about the year 700, and is said to be the work of Eadfrith, then Bishop of Lindisfarne. The text is in very carefully-formed half-uncials, differing but slightly from the same characters in Irish MSS., and is glossed in the Northumbrian dialect by Aldred, a writer of the tenth century.

At last the storm broke. Various mutterings and rumblings were heard, of which a premonitory symptom may be discerned in Alcuin's letter to Ethelred, in 776,

¹ Bates, *Northumberland*, p. 70.

quoted by Camden (*v. ante*, p. 116); and then in 793 the heathen Northmen signalized the commencement of the attacks which were for nearly two hundred years to vex the coasts of Britain, by the sack of Lindisfarne, and, in the following year, of Jarrow. From this disaster the island recovered; but the Vikings waxed ever bolder and bolder, until in 868, came the great incursion which wiped out for ever the Lindisfarne of Aidan and Cuthbert, and left the island desolate for 200 years.¹ Beginning at York, the Danes plundered all the coast northwards, and Holy Island was again sacked. But this time the monks had fled, never to return. Hastily gathering together all valuables and relics, including the precious remains of St. Cuthbert, and the volume of the Holy Gospels, Eardulph, the last bishop, with his flock, beat a retreat across the sands, and over the Kylvoe crags, whence, looking back, they could see their monastery and its surroundings in flames.

The story of their wanderings has been often told. Relays of clergy were appointed to keep guard over the treasures, and to offer the daily sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving. Sir Walter Scott sings of this wonderful pilgrimage in *Marmion* :—

“O’er northern mountain, marsh, and moor,
From sea to sea, from shore to shore,
Seven years St. Cuthbert’s corpse they bore.”

The poet goes on to tell how, when the Saint objected to Melrose, where he was first taken, he was borne south to Chester-le-Street, and thence to Durham. It was in 882 that the holy relics were deposited at Chester-le-Street, and for one hundred and thirteen years they remained there, and the church built for a shrine took the place of Lindisfarne as the Cathedral of Northumbria. In 995 fresh bands of Danes came over

¹ For the dates here given I have followed the account given in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, vol. i, N. S., p. 233, which a consultation of the original authorities leads me to believe correct. Some modern writers make the abandonment of Holy Island and the commencement of the wanderings of St. Cuthbert’s relics to commence in 793, nearly a century too soon.

Wakeman is slightly confused, but his account seems to agree with that given in the text.

the North Sea, plundering and destroying as usual. Again the guardians of St. Cuthbert's incorruptible body felt compelled to remove him for safety, and this time they went south, first as far as Ripon. When the danger passed they returned north, and legend tells how they were stopped where Durham Cathedral stands, by the express command of the Saint of Lindisfarne himself. Here he first rested under a shrine of boughs, until in time the glorious minster rose where his bones have ever since rested. During the Middle Ages his shrine was almost as famous as that of St. Thomas at Canterbury, and innumerable pilgrims visited it. The English army rallied round the banner of St. Cuthbert at the battle of Neville's Cross, and it was borne for the last time during the Pilgrimage of Grace. But the story of St. Cuthbert has carried us far from Lindisfarne, whose early history closes with the sack and burning by the Danes in 868.

For more than two hundred years afterwards the island was deserted; the splash of the waves in storm and calm, and the plaintive cry of the sea-bird, were the only music heard upon its shores, as in the days before St. Aidan came; until the company of Benedictine monks from Durham, in 1093, once more renewed the ancient shrine, and the voice of praise and prayer was again heard on the Holy Island of Lindisfarne.





Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 60.)

SATURDAY, JULY 20TH, 1901.

ON Saturday the members of Congress visited Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, and Tynemouth. The weather was still close and oppressive throughout the day, except during the short crossing from South Shields to Tynemouth, when the breeze blowing up the Tyne from the sea was most refreshing.

At Jarrow the party was met by Canon Savage, Vicar of St. Hilda, South Shields, and was immediately conducted to the Church, which alone remains as it was in Saxon and mediæval times. The chancel of the present church represents practically the original Saxon (or rather Anglian) Church of Bede's days. It was in the year 674 that Benedict Biscop settled at Jarrow, and in 683 the foundations of the church were laid. It consisted of an aisleless nave, with north and south doors, and five small characteristic windows, three of which remain. At the east end there was a square presbytery, which was removed when in later times the present nave was built. Originally this was a separate building, and the tower, which now divides the two, owes its peculiar shape—it is an oblong, 20 ft. from north to south, and 13 ft. from east to west—to the fact of its having been squeezed in between the two existing buildings. Canon Savage exhibited a cast of the original dedication stone of the first church, containing the names of King Egfrid and Abbot Ceolfrid. In 1876 the foundations of the west wall of the church were discovered, showing that there was originally no tower or porticoes. It was in the eleventh century that the tower was raised, and the two buildings were thrown into one. Two of the three original windows on the south side were blocked with stone slabs, which still remain, as the Anglians were ignorant of the art of window-glazing, and for this purpose workmen were summoned

from France. The other windows are imitations. The westernmost one on the south side was inserted in the year 1350, an expensive year owing to the Black Death, and the price is recorded as being 43s. 4d. In that year a sheep cost 13d., making the window equivalent to forty sheep: a sheep now costs 45s., which brings out the present price at £50, not at all out of the way. As an interesting proof that the chancel of the present church is the original Anglian building, it may be noted that the length is, as usual in those times, just $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the breadth, in this case 40 ft. by 16 ft. Bede passed the whole of his life at "sweet Jarrow," as a Tyneside poet calls it, and as no doubt it was in Bede's days, and died there in 735. He was buried on the north side of the church, but his remains were afterwards removed to Durham, and venerated as relics.

One of the most interesting things in the church is an ancient and rude oaken chair, known as Bede's. This is assigned by Mr. Micklethwaite to the fourteenth century, but Canon Savage pointed out that it is evidently much older, and bears plain traces of having passed through fire. Now the church was burned down in 1069, so if we like still to call it Bede's Chair it is perfectly allowable to do so. On the north side of the tower there is a window, which was in all probability inserted by the Danes, after their conversion, as some reparation of their previous devastations. The remains of the monastic buildings are insignificant, but the door opening upon the cloister is interesting as an example of a Saxon triangular arch, like that at Holy Trinity, Colchester, and elsewhere. In 1083 Bishop William de Carileph, of Durham, removed the married canons, and made Jarrow a cell to the Abbey of Durham, and so it remained till the Dissolution in 1540.

A word must be said about the bench-ends in the present chancel, *i.e.*, the old Saxon church. These are the work of Prior Castell, of Durham, whose sign they contain, a heart pierced with a sword. They date from 1519, and perhaps belonged originally to the Jesus Altar at Durham; they are fine examples of English wood-carving, and show a remarkable effort to revert to the geometrical style in the middle of the Perpendicular Period—in fact, they may be called almost Flamboyant.

The party then proceeded by train to Monkwearmouth, where they were met by the Rev. D. S. Boutflower, who described the church. This is of about the same date as the first church at Jarrow; but of the original edifice nothing remains except the west wall and the *porticus ingressus*, now the western tower. This is pre-eminently the church of the celebrated Benedict Biscop, and an interesting sketch of his life was given by Mr. Boutflower.

Here, and at Jarrow, some very interesting Saxon crosses and other stones were seen, including a number of Saxon barrel-pieces, turned on a lathe. Four of these may be seen *in situ* in the two small windows in the west wall on either side of the tower.

After lunch at Sunderland, the party proceeded to South Shields, when a brief visit was paid to the museum, with its interesting Roman remains, from the camp near by, and then the Tyne was crossed in the teeth of a stiff but pleasant breeze, and Tynemouth was reached. Here the party were met by Mr. H. A. Adamson, Town Clerk, who led them to the Lady Chapel of the Priory, the only portion which still boasts a roof, and taking his stand where the altar once stood, described the history of the building.

In 627 Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumbria, built here the first church of wood, which was replaced by a church of stone about 640 by St. Oswald. The Priory was burnt and plundered by the Danes in the universal devastation of 865, when the nuns of St. Hilda, who had fled from Hartlepool to Tynemouth for refuge, were "translated by martyrdom to Heaven." In 1090, Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, re-founded Tynemouth Priory, and in 1095, the nave, transept, and apsidal eastern termination were built. The Transitional choir was erected in 1190-1200, and this was within a few years extended to the westward. It is the magnificent ruins of this building which now dominates the mouth of the Tyne. In 1537 the whole was unroofed. The Lady Chapel, whose dimensions are small, only 18 ft. by 12 ft., was erected as a chantry chapel of the Percies in 1400, and is approached by a door under the east window of the choir. It has a beautiful groined roof, with fifteen bosses, containing figures of Our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and the twelve Apostles, which were surrounded by legends now nearly effaced. The heraldic bearings of the Percy and Delaval families—the crescent and fetterlock—may also be seen in this chapel. For many years, prior to 1856, it was used as a powder magazine by the Government! A graphic and interesting description of the architectural features of the building was then given by Mr. Chas. Lynam, who conducted the party round.

At the evening meeting a Paper was read by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Hon. Sec., on "Some Resemblances between the Religious and Magical Ideas of Modern Savage Peoples, and those of the Prehistoric Races of Europe." This Paper has been printed in the *Journal* of this Association, vol. vii, N. S., pp. 227-257.

A second Paper was read by Mr. A. Oliver, on "The Brasses of Roger Thornton in All Saints Church, Newcastle, and other Flemish Brasses in England," and will be published.

MONDAY, JULY 22ND, 1901.

On Monday, the members of Congress proceeded by train to Bardon Mill, in order to start from thence on an eastward journey of about ten miles along one of the best-preserved portions of the Roman Wall, viz., that part which lies between Borcovicus and Cilurnum, the eighth and sixth stations from the east end of the Wall.

The party was met at Bardon Mill Station by Mr. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham, who acted as the guide for the day, and was accompanied by Mr. R. H. Forster, whose learned Paper on the "Roman Wall" read before the Association during the previous session will be remembered. From the railway it is a stiff climb to the moorland along which the Wall runs, and many were glad when the first halt was called on the raised plateau on which stood Vindolana, the ninth station from the east end. Here a Roman milestone is still standing *in situ*. Soon the Wall itself is seen on the horizon, and the bleak aspect on the now almost uninhabited moor helps one to fill in the scene with fancy pictures of the rude life of those early days. Behind it, the vallum and the road which the Romans made to facilitate intercommunication between the stations may be easily traced.

The Wall itself is supposed to have been about 20 ft. high, and to have been crowned with a parapet. At intervals of about a mile what are known as the "mile-castles" were built, and every few miles there was a camp and station. The first camp visited to-day was, as already stated, Borcovicus, now called Housesteads. This was about five acres in extent. Wading through the long wet grass from the road to the camp, for it had been raining heavily, and passing on the way the hill on which stood the temples of Jupiter and Mars, and below which was discovered the cave supposed to have been devoted to the rites of the Mithraic cult, from the slab found therein containing a representation of Mithras emerging from the egg and surrounded with the signs of the Zodiac, now placed in the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle, Mr. Gibson led the party straight to the western gates of Borcovicus. Here, taking his stand on one of the remaining jambs of the gate, he first described some of the problems connected with the Wall, and then conducted the party round the camp. No one knows who was the first founder of the Wall—it may have been Agricola himself, or Hadrian, or even Severus. But whatever the date of the first wall, it was destroyed, in one part or another, more than once during the Roman occupation, and after each destruction the Romans simply cleared away the rubbish, and built

the restored wall upon it. Consequently, there are two or three changes of level, and the earlier work is always the best. As time went on, the builders became more and more careless. Here, at Borcovicus, there are evidences of three occupations. This camp was garrisoned by a cohort of 1000 Tungrian infantry, and it was almost entirely a military station, though there are traces of buildings all around, and from the existence of the temples it must have been the centre of a considerable population.

Mr. Gibson then pointed out the construction of the gateway, two-fold, with guard chambers on each side. Here there was a central gate on each of the four sides, with angle turrets at the rounded corners of the camp. The plan of the buildings inside may be clearly traced, the barracks for the soldiery, the *Prætorium*, the Forum, the armoury, in which numbers of iron spear- and arrow-heads were found, together with the domestic and sanitary arrangements. From this camp a splendid view of the Wall pursuing its majestic and unbounding course may be obtained, and from here may also be seen the Sewingshields, said by tradition to be the place where Arthur and his knights are sleeping, but really a Roman quarry.

After leaving Borcovicus the journey was continued to Cilurnum, now Chesters. On the way a spot was passed where the outer foss was driven right through the basaltic rock of the hillside with infinite toil; and here, on the inner side of the Wall, Mr. Gibson showed the earthen vallum with its fosse, along which latter his idea is that a Roman army might march from one point to another unperceived by the enemy. He is supported by a passage in Caesar, but the idea does not seem very feasible of execution.

Cilurnum is one of the large camps, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, beautifully situated on an eminence overlooking the Tyne, which was here spanned by a bridge, the platform of which can still be clearly perceived under the water. This camp was garrisoned by an *ala*, or wing, of Asturian cavalry, and was a civil as well as a military station. Besides the four great gateways and the rounded angle-turrets, it had two intervening towers on each side. Here may be easily discerned all the multitudinous life of a Roman camp and town: the streets, mostly very narrow, one or two broader, and fronted by buildings with colonnade and portico; the Forum, the shops, the barracks and stables, the market, to which the country people of the Brigantes and Ottadini brought their produce for sale.

The most interesting discovery at Cilurnum was that accidentally made, a few years ago, of a range of buildings facing the river, outside the camp, probably the residence of the commander of the station. Here

the walls, which had been covered by the slope of the ground, are in some places 20 ft. high, the back one containing a splayed window, beneath which some glass was found, rough on one side, smooth on the other, from having been rubbed on a smooth surface, the Roman method of making plate glass. The crux of this discovery consists in seven niches, on a wall facing the river: their purpose is unknown. Mr. Foster thinks they were for statues of the seven days of the week; Mr. Gibson that they were closets, but it is impossible to decide.

TUESDAY, JULY 23RD, 1902.

On Tuesday the members of Congress visited Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, and the quiet hours spent on the island associated with the hallowed names of St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert came as a welcome refreshment after the hurried excursions of the previous week. Proceeding by train to Beal, the party reached Holy Island by driving—it being low water—across the stretch of wet sand which separates it from the mainland. In crossing the sands the long, low bank of Lindisfarne is in front, bare on the north-west, and given over to sand and rabbits; but on the south-east the land rises slightly, and here the little modern village clusters round the church and the beautiful ruins of the Norman Priory; while beyond, perched on a high pinnacle of basaltic rock, may be seen the mediæval castle, standing on “The Heugh,” as the rocky hill which bounds the priory on the south is called; St. Cuthbert’s Isle is just off the shore, while, seven miles across the sea to the southward, is the castle of Bamborough, once the royal city of Bernicia.

Assembling the visitors amid the Priory ruins, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Hon. Sec., the guide of the day, read a Paper on “The Early History and Associations of the Island.” This is printed in the present volume, pp. 115-128.

After luncheon, under the shadow of the Priory, Mr. Astley again gathered the visitors in the ruined nave, to tell the story of the later Norman building, which will be published.

He then conducted the party round the ruins, pointing out the various monastic buildings, which, owing to the recent excavations conducted by the late Sir William Crossman, are now clearly visible, and form one of the most complete examples extant from which the lives of the monks in a Benedictine Priory may be known.

Mr. Astley also briefly described the Castle, and the party were shown over the parish church by the Vicar. There is some good Early English work in this, and one or two interesting memorials.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24TH.

On Wednesday, July 24th, the members of the Congress proceeded to Durham, where they were most kindly received by the Dean, Dr. Kitchin, who spared no trouble in conducting the visitors round the remains of the Priory, the Cathedral, and Castle. This visit had the advantage of gathering up the ends of previous days' doings, and finishing off the stories.

The Deanery, originally the Prior's lodge of the monastery, was first visited. Here was seen the private chapel, now a cellar, and the great octagonal kitchen, once capable of feeding three hundred persons. Passing through the library, in which the vestments and other relics taken from St. Cuthbert's tomb, when it was opened in 1827, and many an interesting MS., the story of which has been often told, were reverently examined, the party proceeded to the monks' dormitory, a large oblong chamber, with a fine open roof, now used as a museum. Here were inspected the remains of St. Cuthbert's coffin, with its figures of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the twelve Apostles, and the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, etc., executed in outline, in a sort of rude Saxon poker-work, but with never a mistake, and the collection of Saxon crosses, including Acca's cross from Hexham, and Roman altars. Here also the Dean read a most interesting and learned Paper upon the "Cathedral Statutes of Durham," which has been published in the present volume, pp. 39-48.

The Cathedral was next visited, where the Dean gave a graphic account of this historic building, which has been so often described, that we need not linger upon it here. The Dean then proceeded to the stone beneath which lie the remains of St. Cuthbert, where he told the story of the recent exhumation, accomplished, it is to be hoped, for the last time, of the saint's skeleton, and the evidence gained thereby of the genuineness of the remains.

The Galilee, in which is Bede's tomb, was next inspected, and the great sanctuary knocker on the north door.

The most interesting portion of the castle, formerly the chief residence of the Prince-Bishops of Durham, now the University, is the pre-Conquest Norman Chapel, with its low round arches and cylindrical columns, with voluted capitals.

In the evening a meeting was held, at which the Congress proper was brought to a close. After the usual votes of thanks had been passed, a Paper by the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A., was read in his unavoidable absence, on "The Galilee as a Place of Sanctuary," with

special reference to Durham; and another by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., on "Canterbury's Ancient Coinage," as a sequel to Mr. Caine's Paper on the York Mint. Both of these will, we hope, be published.

THURSDAY, JULY 25TH, 1901.

On Thursday a visit was paid to the site of the battle of Flodden Field, under the guidance of Dr. Hodgkin, and to the castles of Ford and Etal in its immediate neighbourhood. The day was unfortunately wet throughout, but not sufficiently so to damp the ardour of the visitors. A better guide than the President could not have been found, as he has made a special study of this battlefield.

Taking train to Berwick, and changing there for the branch line to Coldstream, the party were met by Dr. Hodgkin, who, owing to the wet, read his Paper in the Hotel before they proceeded over the ground. The two Scottish historians from whom we get the fullest account of the battle are Robert Lindsay, of Pitscottie (1500-1565), and George Buchanan (1505-1582).

Dr. Hodgkin sketched in a masterly manner the causes which led to the field of Flodden, with details of the battle. He also read Scott's description of the battle in *Marmion*. The party then drove over the whole field, the objects of interest being pointed out by the President *en route*.

The castles of Ford and Etal (the latter a ruin since James burnt it) were visited in the afternoon, whence the party drove back over the Northumbrian moorland to Berwick.

FRIDAY, JULY 26TH, 1901.

On Friday, Hexham was visited, and Mr. W. P. Gibson conducted the party round the Priory and described its history. There are distinct traces of early British occupation in the whole surrounding neighbourhood, and in Roman days there must have been a camp near at hand, from the abundance of Roman stones used by Wilfrid in building his crypt. The most remarkable monument is that erected to the memory of a Roman standard-bearer, now standing in the south transept. The history of Hexham begins with the battle of Heavenfield, six miles off, where St. Oswald defeated Cadwallon, who was soon afterwards slain. In 674 Etheldreda, Queen of Northumbria, gave Hexham to Wilfrid, who was the first of a line of twelve bishops down to 821. A sketch of Wilfrid's life and character was given: of his beautiful church nothing remains but the crypt. Hexham, like

Durham, Beverley, and Westminster, possessed the right of "sanctuary," and the Saxon "Sanctuary Chair," now placed within the altar-rails, is, next to the crypt, the most precious relic of those times. It is of stone, with a low semi-circular seat, and on the arms are the characteristic Saxon ornamentation of the strap and triquetral knot. The sanctuary limit extended to a mile on every side of the town, marked by four crosses, and a system of fines was imposed of graduated severity, according as to whether a culprit was seized within the town, churchyard, nave, choir, or chancel; but whoever snatched a trembling wrongdoer from the Chair was "botolos;" his crime was inexpiable. Bishop Acca erected the beautiful cross, now in Durham, outside the west end of the church. In 875 the church and monastery were destroyed by the Danes, and a curious relic of those evil days was discovered in 1832. It consisted of a small copper vessel full of Saxon coins—4,000 stycas—which had evidently been buried by the monks. In 1110, William of St. Carileph, Bishop of Durham, found the Saxon church ruined, roofless, practically gone. In 1125 a Priory of Austin Canons was founded here. In 1200 the existing church was commenced. It consisted of choir and north and south transepts, and seems never to have had a nave. The side aisles and choir, in the Late Transitional style, were the first built, then the north transept, and, finally, the south transept about 1240. The side aisles alone remain of this church, which was burned down in 1296 by the savage Earl of Buckingham, the town being raided more than once during the Scotch wars of Edward I and Edward II. In 1346 the church was desolate and roofless, and all its relics were gone. It was restored in the course of the following century, when the present north and south arcades were built. The columns are for the most part plain, but in two or three instances the capitals are beautifully ornamented, which is said to have been done as the gift of the masons on the completion of the work. In the clerestory there are clustered columns in two orders, as at Norwich and Romsey. The east end has been altered five times; the present one is quite modern. In the south transept a broad flight of stairs leads to a door above, opening on what was once the dormitory of the Priory. This staircase is believed to be the only one still in existence.

Tapers were now lighted, and a descent made into the Crypt. This consists of four or five small oblong chambers and narrow passages, which were apparently under the nave, choir, and transepts of Wilfrid's church. Two of the chambers are roofed in triangular fashion, the rest are barrel-vaulted; all unmistakeably Saxon. They probably contained altars, and were used for the veneration of relics.

The whole is built of Roman material, which Wilfrid, no doubt, found ready to his hand. The most curious piece is part of an inscribed stone of Caracalla, on which that emperor has erased the name of his brother Geta, after having murdered him. Another example is to be seen in the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle. This one is in the roof of a side passage in the crypt.

The remains of the cloisters and monastic buildings were inspected, also the Moot Hall, and the Norman Keep. After lunch, the majority of the party accompanied Mr. Gibson on a drive to Ayton Castle and Corbridge, where they inspected the Vicar's Pele, and to Dilston, and returned to Newcastle about seven o'clock. The Congress was generally agreed to have been most enjoyable and instructive; but owing to the extraordinary apathy of the Newcastle people, and to the fact that it was held at a time when many of our own members were unable to be present, it did not prove a financial success.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5TH, 1902.

Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., Hon. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

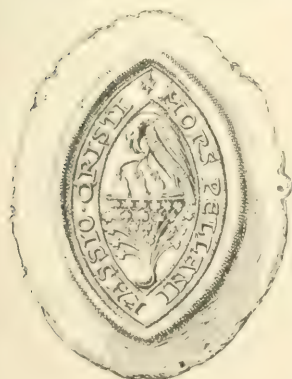
W. J. Andrew, Esq., F.S.A., Cadster House, Whaley Bridge.

T. E. Price-Stretche, Esq., Heath Lodge, Lennard Road,
Beckenham, S.E.

Mrs. Collier brought for exhibition a beautifully-made Chinese “praying machine” of ivory and silk; also a mother-of-pearl cross and an ivory carving, both about one hundred and fifty years old.

Mr. Oliver exhibited a map of London dated 1723, and a finely-carved ivory triptych, *circa* 1650, the centre panel representing the “Descent from the Cross,” after the celebrated painting by Rubens at Antwerp.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley exhibited a bronze seal found recently by a child close to the church of Tatterford, near Fakenham, Norfolk. It is of vesica shape, and bears the motto “MORS . PELICANI . PASSIO . CRISTI.” The workmanship is very beautiful, as may be seen by the impression here reproduced, and may be compared with similar seals figured and described in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. iii, pp. 52 and 126. The date is of the early fourteenth century. The Pelican feeding her young from her own breast, or the “Pelican in her Piety,” as it is called, was a very favourite mediæval



Full Size.

ecclesiastical device, and was often made use of also in other ways, as, *e.g.*, on the Font-cover at Saham Toney, Norfolk, and elsewhere.

Mr. Cecil Davis exhibited a portion of a monumental brass, probably of the fourteenth century and of Flemish origin. It represents a group of children with eight faces, but only six pairs of legs.

The Paper of the evening was by Mr. Cecil Davis, and was entitled "A Chapter in Local History: Wandsworth, 1545-58." We shall hope to publish this in due course.

Mr. Astley, Mr. Gould, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Patrick, and the Chairman took part in the discussion which followed this most interesting Paper, Mr. Davis being warmly commended for the care and accuracy with which he had compiled these records of ancient parish life.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19TH, 1902.

Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

- To the Powys-land Club* for "Collections Historical and Archæological," vol. xxxii, Pt. 1, 1902.
- „ *Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society* for "Proceedings," vol. vii, 3rd Ser., 1901.
- „ *Smithsonian Institution*, for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xliii.
- „ *Smithsonian Institution*, for the "Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1896-7."

The Chairman exhibited, and gave some particulars of, an interesting relic of Admiral Rodney. It consisted of a cocoa-nut shell, mounted in silver and with silver foot, which, according to the hall-mark, is dated 1781; whereas the cup itself, most elaborately carved with representations of ships of war, fortresses, &c., is dated 1782, and apparently commemorates the defeat of the French and Spanish fleets near Martinique, when Rodney in the *Formidable* broke through the French line, engaged the *Ville de Paris*, the Comte de Grasse's flagship, and compelled her to strike, on April 13th, 1782. It is probable the cup was at first only the plain shell, but mounted in silver as described, and that it was carved afterwards by some officer or sailor who had taken part in the action mentioned, and so dated 1782.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Gould, Mr. Compton, Mr. Rayson, and Major Frere took part, the last-named remarking that he possessed some war medals referring to that warfare.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2ND, 1902.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," Nos. 6 to 10, 1902.

„ *Brussels Archaeological Society for "Annual Report," 1902.*

Mr. T. Sheppard, curator of the Hull Municipal Museum, submitted a drawing of one of two small bells recently found in the course of excavations near Duffield. The bells bear no inscriptions nor dates, but are precisely similar in shape, and measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter at the mouth. They were probably used at the altar, and were sacring bells.

Dr. Winstone exhibited some beautiful lacework of the seventeenth century, representing Herod, and Herodias with her daughter bearing the head of John the Baptist on a charger or dish. A memorandum stated that the lace was worked with thread which cost a guinea an ounce, and the dresses of the figures are profusely ornamented with small pearls. The exhibitor mentioned that the lace was an heirloom in his family.

Mr. I. C. Gould exhibited two casts (one square, the other round) of white metal coated with copper, recently dug up in a garden at Upminster. He had submitted these casts to Mr. C. H. Read and Mr. Hill of the British Museum, and found that the square specimen bears on its face the cast of a well-known coin of Syracuse, the other being the cast of the obverse of an Italian medal of the sixteenth century. Mr. Gould thought that, though possibly modern forgeries, the casts may more probably be imitations of the antique made fifty or more years ago, not necessarily with the idea of deception.

Mrs. Marshall exhibited a piece of glass, seemingly Roman, beautifully iridescent, which she had herself picked up at Alexandria.

Dr. Birch exhibited, on behalf of Miss Gertrude Winstone, the photograph of an incised leaden plate, found recently at Bath, which was of much interest. It appeared to have been nailed or fastened in some way upon a coffin or chest containing the remains of a sister, or nun, named Ælfgifu, a deceased member of the celebrated nunnery of Bath, which was first founded in 676 by Osric, petty king or subregulus of the Wiccii, a tribe inhabiting Worcestershire and the adjacent counties. Bertana was the first abbess. The period of the nunnery

676-775, must be that of the relic in question, which consists of a leaden plate $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width, bearing on the front an incised Greek cross, with a circular border uniting the arms, and a St. Andrew's cross at the intersections. The back of the plate has simply a plain Greek cross. The arms of all the crosses, as well as the circular border, are covered with inscriptions of sacred characters, partly decipherable. The relic was discovered by Major Davis at about 17 ft. below the present level of the ground in a portion of the hypocaust of the old Roman baths, the site of which was afterwards the cloister of the Saxon nunnery.

A valuable Paper on "Maiden Castles" was read by Mr. A. R. Goddard, of Bedford, and will be published.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley, the Chairman, Mr. Gould, Mr. Duppa Lloyd, and Mr. Patrick took part in the subsequent discussion.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16TH, 1902.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. J. A. Penny exhibited a book of Psalms in German and Dutch, of early sixteenth-century date; also a curious finger-ring of red sard stone from Italy, and a bronze stud, part of a shield, Saxon, of the ninth century. Mr. Penny afterwards read an interesting Paper on "Curiosities I have seen in and about Churches," which will, we hope, be published.

A Paper was next read by Mr. Andrew Oliver, on "Some Old London Views." It was well illustrated by specially prepared maps and engravings from Mr. Oliver's large collection. The maps indicated with great clearness the sites of the old monastic buildings and churches which were destroyed at the time of the Great Fire.

The Chairman, Mr. W. J. Andrew, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Patrick, and others, took part in the discussion which followed the Papers.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7TH, 1902.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., EARL MARSHAL; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOKE, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY, D.D.; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.	|	SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.,		F.R.S., F.S.A.
F.S.A.		CHAS. LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.		J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
W. H. COPE, Esq., F.S.A.		SIR ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A., <i>Quarter</i>
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.	|	<i>King of Arms.</i>
		BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Honorary Treasurer.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.

Council.

W. DERHAM, Esq.	|	R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.
REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.		W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
MICHAEL FERRAR, Esq.		A. OLIVER, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.
I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.		THOS. F. PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.		W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.	|	R. E. WAY, Esq.
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.		C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.		T. CATO WORSTOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.,
W. S. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	|	F.R.S.L.
REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.,		
F.R.Hist.S.	|	

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

In the unavoidable absence of the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, *Hon. Editorial Sec.*, Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read the following:—

Secretaries' Report for the Year ending December 31st, 1901.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1901:—

"(1) The number of the Associates remains at about the permanent average of the last few years. Fifteen new members were elected in 1901, and several were removed by death or resignation. The results of the Newcastle Congress in respect of gaining an accession of members were most disappointing. The Hon. Secretaries would take this opportunity of impressing upon every Associate who has the welfare of the Association at heart, the duty of doing all in his power to secure more widespread interest in, and support of, the Association and its objects.

"(2) Obituary notices of Associates lost by death will be found in the pages of the *Journal* set apart for that purpose.

"(3) The Library of the Association continues to be enriched with many valuable presents. It is now housed at University College, where the books can be consulted by members; but the Hon. Secretaries regret that no further steps have been taken in the preparation of a Catalogue, which will make it of real value.

"(4) Twenty-three of the more important Papers read at the Leicester Congress, and during the winter session in London, are printed in the *Journal* for 1901, which is illustrated with over forty plates and process-blocks. The Council gratefully acknowledges the contributions of writers of Papers towards this purpose. The Hon. Secretaries have in hand a large number of Papers read at the Newcastle Congress and during the present Session in London, which have been accepted for publication as circumstances allow.

"(5) The Hon. Secretaries would again invite early notices of new discoveries from local members of Council and Associates generally, by which means alone can the Association be kept in touch with contemporary archæology.

"(GEO. PATRICK, *Hon.*
"H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY, *Secs.*"

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER, 1901.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	205	16	0			
" Books sold	23	10	9			
" Interest Post Office Savings Bank	1	9	4			
" Entrance fees	14	14	0			
" Newcastle Congress	17	7	0			
			262	17	1	
Printing bill unpaid, Dec. 31, 1901	143	15	8			
Dec. 31. Balance at Bank	£26	9	5			
" " P. O. Savings Bank	58	4	1			
			84	13	6	
" " Debit Balance				59	2	2
						£321 19 3

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Outstanding liability, Dec. 31, 1900, since paid off			120	4	0	
" Cash in hand			93	3	19	
" Debit Balance, Dec. 31, 1900				27	0	2
" Printing and Editing <i>Journal</i>			157	9	5	
" Illustrations to <i>Journal</i>	£44	8	0			
" Less Donations			6	19	6	
				37	8	6
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i>				10	12	19
" Miscellaneous Printing & Advertising			23	13	9	
" Rent and Salaries			47	12	6	
" Stationery, Postage, and Incidentals			18	2	1	
				294	19	1
						£321 19 3

Audited and found correct, 18 April, 1902.

(Signed) CECIL T. DAVIS } *4 auditors.*
R. H. FORSTER }

Mr. S. Rayson, Sub-Treasurer, read the following remarks on the foregoing Balance Sheet :—

“It is a matter of regret that I have to report an increase in the debit balance of the Association. On the 1st of January, 1901, the deficiency was £27 9s. 2d., but on the 31st December the debit balance was no less than £59 2s. 2d. The excess of expenditure over income was not caused by a falling off in the annual subscriptions, as they were above £30 more than in the previous year, but to the combined circumstances of the smallness of the profits on the Newcastle Congress and the increase in the cost of the *Journal*. Any donations towards clearing off this debt will be thankfully received by the Treasurer.”

At the close of the Meeting, a donation from Mr. C. J. Williams of £5 for the above object was announced. It is to be hoped that this good example will be speedily followed. All donations will be most gratefully acknowledged by the Sub-Treasurer.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

Studies in Peerage and Family History. By J. HORACE ROUND, M.A. (London, 1901: Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster, 12s. 6d. net.).—To open the pages of a work from the pen of our modern *Junius* of historical literature is to anticipate enlightenment and truth; but, nevertheless, a surprise awaited us even in the Preface to this remarkable book. "The critical treatment in this volume," writes Mr. Round, "of the heralds and their so-called 'records' has been made necessary by recent efforts to exalt the authority of their documents, and to terrorize the public, in the matter of arms, by crude and violent language. . . . What I am exposing is not the practice of granting arms, but the effort to persuade the public that the grant is a special privilege, when it is notoriously obtained by the mere payment of cash," namely, seventy-six pounds ten shillings.

This is the surprise which greets us in the Preface, and it is all the more pointed because (to use a paradox) we have known it all along, and have contentedly shut our eyes to the truth. The truth is not always welcome, and when Mr. Round places it before us in even more vigorous language than is his wont, it comes home to us with a shock, and we wonder whether it is the story, or the telling of the story, which is unpleasant. But Mr. Round is right. There is not one of us who would value a university degree, for example, to the extent of the odd shillings, if it could be purchased at "seventy-six pounds ten shillings." It is true that grants of arms, as Mr. Hutton informs us, are not made quite indiscriminately, but the romance disappears when the right to bear arms becomes a matter of pounds, shillings and pence. It must not for a moment be thought that Mr. Round is countenancing, even indirectly, those who wear coats of many colours, purchased at 7s. 6d. a piece at certain stationers' shops. To such this book is no solace. Nor is it against the modern College of Arms *per se* that the sharp point of Mr. Round's steel pen is directed, for he tells us that "happily there are, in the present day, among the members of the College, gentlemen of social distinction;" but it is against "the self-appointed champions of the College" who "deem it their duty to insult publicly in black and white (*The Right to Bear Arms*, p. xiv) those who use arms which are not there recorded," that his indignation is aroused.

Why we agree with Mr. Round is this. There are many amongst

us, whose ancestors have used their arms from generation to generation. There are many who are lineally descended from those who bore arms upon many a field *range* long anterior to the foundation of the Heralds' College itself. There are "two-and-twenty peers and over thirty baronets," not to mention several of our civic bodies, whose arms are "bogus" and "illegal." Are all these to sink their time-honoured customs and traditions in becoming mere purchasers of a grant *de novo*? One might as well say that no baronet by descent has a right to his title because there is no Committee of Privileges before whom his descent can be proved. The situation is not the fault of the College, but none the less it is unfortunate, for all would prefer the so-called "bogus" (?) coat-of-arms of their forefathers to a new grant which must remain an unwelcomed guest amongst their family archives, until time has honoured it with hoary old age. Surely it is not too late for this difficulty to be removed? Some judicial system for the registration of the more important hereditary dignities is certainly wanted; for it is a curious anomaly that although, for instance, the honour of a baronetcy is conferred upon a man and his heirs, often in acknowledgment of some special service to his country, no public machinery exists to preserve the honour in the direct line. It is always open to the danger of a family arrangement, and no flaw in title need trouble a claimant who has no litigious opponent.

We have dwelt at length upon this subject because of its general interest, and space will not permit us to follow in detail the varied subjects contained in Mr. Round's work. They comprise a general history of the Peerage of the United Kingdom, with running, often drastic, comments upon the pedigrees and other information contained in *Burke* and similar authorities; interesting chapters of careful research on the Origin of the Stuarts and the genealogy of the Counts of Boulogne; and curious enlightenment upon pedigrees, records, and descent under "The family of Ballon," "Our English Hapsburgs," "The Origin of the Russells," and "The Rise of the Spencers." All these are chapters which cannot be lightly treated by those who undertake the duty of publishing the pedigrees of our titled and county families: for genealogy, as Mr. Round on behalf of the public demands, should at least be freed from fallacies which have been exposed over and over again. In his closing chapters the author deals with subjects of more historical interest, particularly in "Henry VIII and the Peers" and in that mysterious problem, the relations of "Charles I and Lord Glamorgan."

Our attention is also directed to "The Abeyance of the Barony of Mowbray," but, as some of the questions treated are now *sub judice*, we

pass on, without comment, to the final chapter on "The Succession of the Crown." In this we incline to an opposite view from that of Mr. Round. His contention is, that as the Act of Succession, 12 and 13 William III, chap. 2, limits the descent of the Crown "to the said most excellent Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body being Protestants," it would follow the ordinary rules for the devolution of a barony of like creation, and would similarly fall into abeyance, *e.g.*, in the event of the death of a sovereign, who left no issue male, but two or more daughters. "The whole question," says Mr. Round, "turns on the words 'the heirs of her body'." Is there any precedent for construing these words as a limitation to the eldest alone of two or more daughters?" We would reply in the words of Blackstone: "The Crown of England, by the positive constitution of the kingdom has ever been descendible, and so continues, in a *course peculiar to itself*; yet subject to limitation by Parliament; but notwithstanding such limitation, the Crown retains its descendible quality, and becomes hereditary in the Prince to whom it is limited" (1 *Bl. Com.*, chap. iii). Hence, as the words "heirs of the body" are by ancient custom construed to prefer the eldest son, so when applicable to the Crown, as they contain no specific limitation to the contrary, they would be governed by the precedent of Mary I. and Elizabeth.

W. J. ANDREW.

The Mystic Rose: A Study of Primitive Marriage. By ERNEST CRAWLEY, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., 12s., net.)—Since Mr. McLennan published his *Primitive Marriage* in 1876, much water has run under the bridges, and the study of anthropology has been revolutionised. Mr. McLennan deserved all the credit of a pioneer, though, as he himself admits, he was, without knowing it, following lines already traced by Bachofen. But neither of these writers possessed the key to the problem which they discussed, and which is now in the hands of every student of the subject. This key may be named in one word: "Taboo," and its discovery is due to the greater care with which the habits and customs of the primitive races of mankind have been investigated, during the last quarter of a century, particularly by such masters as Westernmark, Prof. Tylor, and Dr. Frazer. To these Mr. Crawley owns his indebtedness, for it is upon the lines marked out by them that his own masterly study is carried through.

He tells how he was led to the subject by observing "the curious custom of exchange of dress between men and women, which occurs in the most dissimilar connections and the strangest places." This induced him to investigate the whole question of "taboo," and by its means a

flood of light is thrown upon the origin and meaning of customs and ceremonies hitherto dark and inexplicable in the "great mystery," or "sacrament," of marriage.

After a short introduction the next eight chapters describe the "taboo imposed" in respect to all human, and especially sexual, relations; the succeeding five chapters describe the methods by which the "taboo" may be removed; and here we come to the origin and meaning of marriage and its ceremonies; while the last three chapters describe various secondary "taboos," such as those between husband, wife, and mother-in-law, parents and child, etc.

It would not be fair to discuss here the methods by which Mr. Crawley arrives at his conclusions—for these we must refer the reader to the book itself—but we may say that the author most ably, and to our mind conclusively, proves that the whole question of marriage origins is to be developed from that primitive religious mental habit which does not distinguish between the natural and the supernatural, between subjective and objective reality. Hence it is that all relations between human beings, so far as they are unknown and untried, have an element of danger in them; and this applies above all to those delicate and mysterious relations which arise from the sexual subdivision of human nature and human life. This element of danger can only be surmounted by definite rules of magic or religion. Thus Mr. Crawley is able to explain all McLennan's instances of "marriage by capture," as merely parts of a great, and hitherto quite misunderstood, system, which applies to all primitive races, and the survivals of which may be found to-day even amongst the most cultured people.

Incidentally, Mr. Crawley's method enables him to explain why the coster youth and maiden exchange hats when they are out for a holiday, and why the mother-in-law is held in universal dislike; besides many other apparently meaningless, but really most expressive, customs and feelings.

"Group-marriage" is discussed and explained, and the theory of "primitive promiscuity" is shown to be a mere figment, based on an imperfect knowledge of the facts of primitive life. Thus one great advantage to be derived from a study of this book is the proof it affords of the relative purity of primitive woman, as opposed to McLennan's notion of her utter depravity. Mr. Crawley writes, and writes truly: "Not long ago McLennan could assert that the savage woman was utterly depraved; but a study of the facts shows quite the contrary."

This book, as Mr. Lang has said, is not one "for the drawing-room table;" but its wealth of illustrations, drawn from every part of the world, and from all the primitive races of ancient and modern times,

and its close reasoning, make it worth the attention of everyone who agrees with Pope that, "the proper study of mankind is man."

Magic and Religion. By ANDREW LANG, LL.D., etc. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 10s. 6d. net.)—Mr. Lang, as one of the most accomplished and versatile writers of the day, has acquired a well-deserved reputation which can in no way be enhanced by anything we may say in these pages. Notwithstanding, we accord a hearty welcome to this volume of essays on the subject of *Magic and Religion*, which should have been noticed earlier but for the pressure on our space. The greater number of these essays consist of scathing and, we must add, trenchant criticism of the views of Dr. Frazer, as expressed in *The Golden Bough*, on the subject of the origin of the Christian religion, and the belief in the divinity of Our Lord. While acknowledging, as we are bound to do, the immense debt of gratitude which all students of anthropology owe to Dr. Frazer for the years of labour he has bestowed upon, and for the mass of material which he has collected in, that monumental work—a debt so well expressed by Mr. Lang (p. 76)—we are all the more thankful that in him the author of *The Golden Bough* has met a foeman worthy of his steel, and one, too, in whom no taint of the *odium theologicum* can be discovered.

In all the long chain of arguments leading from the beginnings of religion, as opposed to magic, through the rites connected with the Saccan criminal, or mock-king, Zakmuk, Purim, Haman, Mordecai, and Esther, up to the culminating tragedy of Calvary, in which Mr. Lang crosses swords with Dr. Frazer, we unhesitatingly affirm that he proves the baselessness of that author's theories up to the hilt ; and, for confirmation, we refer the reader to this book.

The criticism of Dr. Frazer's views on "The Ghastly Priest" of Aricia, on the other hand, is somewhat sketchy and hurried, and is, therefore, less convincing.

One of the most valuable essays in the book is that entitled "Cup and Ring : an Old Problem Solved," in which the author makes use of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's researches among the native tribes of Central Australia, and arrives, practically, at the same conclusion as that independently reached by the Rev. H. D. Astley, in the Paper on "Religious and Magical Ideas," published in this *Journal*, vol. vii, N. S., pp. 227-257. No investigator of this hitherto mysterious subject can in future neglect to give consideration to the views expressed in this essay, and in the Paper referred to.

The essay on "Taboos and First-fruits," is only a slight contribution,

in the author's accustomed vivacious style, to a very wide subject, but we think he is right in his opposition to Mr. Jevons' views, as expressed in his *Introduction to the History of Religion*, and that the origin of "taboo" must be sought in the experience, it may be *fancied*, but none the less real, of savage races. On this subject, the standard work at present is undoubtedly Mr. E. Crawley's *The Mystic Rose*, which should be consulted.

We cordially commend this volume to all who are interested in the problems with which it deals.

Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland: A Folklore Sketch. By W. G. WOOD-MARTIN, M.R.I.A. (London: Longmans and Co., 2 vols., 30s. net.)—The title of this work is somewhat of a misnomer, while the sub-title, "A Handbook of Irish Pre-Christian Traditions," does not much better express the idea of the book. What the author understands by a "handbook" can only be judged by his production, and certainly a "handbook" in two bulky volumes appears somewhat of an anomaly! He deserves, however, the credit of a painstaking collector of everything which by any possibility can be brought within the range of his subject, and he interprets that subject in a most liberal spirit, for he commences his investigation of the "Elder Faiths of Ireland" in the Glacial Period. How little the author is abreast of the latest knowledge of the day appears by his remarks on "Cup-and-Ring-markings." In the course of some fifteen pages he mentions every imaginable theory that has been put forward to explain these universal products of the art of primitive man; but he would seem never to have heard of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and is quite ignorant that the facts which they have discovered as to the meaning of these symbols among the natives of Central Australia afford presumptive proof of their meaning wherever they occur, viz., that they are totemistic tribal marks, and are, in fact, the heraldry of uncultured races.

This is characteristic of the book. Still, it is not without its value as a storehouse of traditional customs and beliefs among the peasantry of Ireland, which may be of some service to the antiquary in forming his own opinion as to the "elder faiths" prevalent before the advent of Christianity. It is undoubtedly an interesting book to read, but only as a popular and quite unscientific compilation; while its discursive style and lack of logical arrangement mar whatever real usefulness it might possess. The book is fully illustrated, but here again the author has used no discrimination, and a large number of the illustrations are worthless, whether from the point of view of archaeology or art.

. References are not, as a rule, given for the statements made, and the author's quotations are taken at haphazard from works of every description, many of which are of no authority at all. He endeavours to make amends for this by providing a lengthy bibliography at the end of the second volume, which, however, only makes the reader feel that he cannot see the wood for the trees. An index is provided for each volume.

One is sorry to have to write in this way of a book which is evidently the fruit of much labour; but if Mr. Wood-Martin will considerably reduce it, and omit all the irrelevant matter, and the worthless illustrations, he may yet make it a work worthy of taking its place on the antiquary's shelves.

The book is handsomely got up, and reflects great credit upon the Publishers.

A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I (1100-1135). By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A. (reprinted from *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. i, 1901).—We accord the heartiest welcome to this work from the pen of one of the latest of our Associates; and the more so that it bears on every page not only the marks of patient industry, but also the proofs that that industry has been well applied to the elucidation of problems that have hitherto puzzled the wisest of numismatists.

For hitherto the study of numismatics has been looked upon rather as the plaything of the *dilettante* than as a serious pursuit; but Mr. Andrew has raised it, henceforward, by his close and microscopic study of the coinage of this one reign, to the dignity of a science. Early in life he saw the possibility of bringing evidence from our coins to bear on contemporary history; but he had not gone far when he resolved, through the accident of the finding of the great Nottingham hoard, to devote himself to the study of the Norman period, and within that period, to commence with the reign of Henry I.

The study was attractive, because all the problems connected with the coinage of our Norman kings present themselves to the student of this king's reign, and if he could find the solution of them, he had practically solved those of the whole period, and thrown light besides on much that was till then perplexing in the general history of English coinage.

As is well known, both in the days of the Saxon kings, during the Norman period, and beyond it, the number of mints in England was very large, sometimes as many as fifty. This was necessarily the case in the days when the danegelt was levied from almost every county

in the kingdom, and was continued afterwards as a convenience, owing to the difficulties of intercommunication between the different parts of the country. After the Conquest, some of these mints remained *in manu regis*, and the moneyers were, in virtue of their office, tenants *in capite* of the king. Now it is also well known that a very large number of mints are not mentioned in *Domesday*, though that they were worked appears by coins of William I now remaining of them, and there are also gaps of many years during which many mints were not worked at all. Ruding mentions these facts, but offers no explanation of them, and it is this explanation which Mr. Andrew is enabled to afford. It is indeed a "discovery," as the author, with no less modesty than candour, and with no disparagement of his learned predecessors, claims, and we cordially congratulate him upon it.

Before mentioning the explanation, for the detailed proofs of which we must refer our readers to the book, let us look at the facts of the case.

First of all, very few of the mints remained *in manu regis*: these are mentioned in *Domesday*; the rest were *chartered* mints. The greater part of the country was parcelled out by charter among the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls and principal Barons, in return for spiritual or military service, and the grant of a city or mint included the mint, which thus came under the immediate jurisdiction of the feudal lord.

Secondly—and here Mr. Andrew employs, in a masterly manner, a principle which has hitherto been overlooked in this connection—the grant of a charter could only endure during the lifetime of the grantor and of the grantee, for in those days no one, neither King nor Baron, could hold more than a life-interest in any property. Hence arose the system of Confirmation Charters.

Thirdly—and here we must quote Mr. Andrew:—"Out of feudalism arose the maxim that all lands in the kingdom were originally granted by our kings, and held mediately or immediately of the king, as lord paramount, in consideration of certain services to be rendered by the holder.' Hence the privilege of coining and issuing the king's money being attached to the soil could not be delegated, assigned, or farmed by the grantee without a further charter. The effect of this was that the privilege was *dormant during the grantee's absence abroad*."

Lastly, as a result of the continual renewal of the coinage—a new type being issued every two or three years—when a type was issued, a restriction was placed on the older ones, so that only a few types were in circulation at one time, and the restriction was marked by the succession of profile types; *e.g.*, when a type with the king's head in profile was issued, only those types which had been issued since the

previous profile type were legal tender. This was generally in the proportion of two or three to one, as the finds prove. These never contain more than one profile-face to two or three front-face types apiece.

The application of these principles explains both the problems mentioned above : the mints which were not recorded in *Domesday* were *chartered* mints, and these *chartered* mints could only be worked during the presence of the feudal lord in England. The reign of Henry I affords excellent scope for proving this position, for both the King and the Barons were as often in Normandy as they were in England ; and at the same time light is thrown upon the records of history, for the presence at, or absence from, a particular mint of coins of a certain type proves the presence in, or absence from, England of the grantee of the mint at that time.

One example, adduced by the author, is sufficient to prove the point. The creation of the earldom of Gloucester in Henry's reign has been variously assigned to half a dozen years between 1105 and 1122. Mr. Round recently proved the true date to be between April 1121, and June 1123. Now, when Robert Fitz-Roy obtained the earldom of Gloucester, he became grantee of the mints of Gloucester and Bristol, and the first type he issued was the one for the years 1121-1123, and it could not have been issued later than the spring of the latter year. Numerous similar instances of the sidelight cast on history by a scientific study of numismatics occur in the course of the work.

In a series of chapters the author discusses the Norman coinage, the succession of types, the constitution of the mints, and the moneyers and their dies, till he comes to the evolution of the types of Henry I. Of these he reckons fifteen, against Hawkins' twenty, but he reduces the five omitted types to "two and their varieties," and these have never been found except with the coins of Stephen's reign.

The last chapter, which takes up four hundred out of the five hundred pages of which the book consists, gives in alphabetical order "the history of the mints and their coins." These were no less than forty-five in number : Canterbury, York, Lincoln, Winchester and London being, as might be expected, the most important. The same plan is followed throughout. First, there is a concise history of the place and its mint, drawn from the Chronicles, and from charters and other original documents, and this is followed by a complete list of every coin of that mint of the reign of Henry I known to be in existence. The total list of coins of Henry I numbers nearly one thousand, and contains examples of every one of the fifteen types coined during the reign.

The author is not careful to give detailed references on every point, as he himself tells us that such a course would have swollen considerably the bulk of a book already large enough, without adding much to its value; but a reference is given to the original source whence every important statement is derived.

There are eight plates, giving excellent illustrations of the coins of the various types, and a full and useful Index.

In conclusion, we can only congratulate Mr. Andrew once more on the first-fruits of his industry, and the proof he affords of the value of specialism scientifically applied; and we shall look forward with great interest to the further volume he promises us on the reign of King Stephen.

Companion to English History (Middle Ages). Edited by F. PIERREPOINT BARNARD, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Henry Frowde, 8s. 6d. net).—The editor of this work, which is very fully, and for the most part well illustrated, is to be congratulated rather on his idea than on its achievement, which was perhaps to be expected. For within the compass of three hundred and seventy octavo pages it was manifestly impossible for twelve writers, even of the ability of those here represented, to deal adequately with the subjects entrusted to them. These subjects comprise Architecture, Ecclesiastical, Domestic, and Military; Costume, Heraldry, Shipping, Town and Country Life, Monasticism, Trade and Commerce, Learning and Art; and each one is of the utmost importance to the right understanding of English mediæval life.

The work opens unfortunately, for Mr. Galton's essay on Ecclesiastical Architecture is quite the most inadequate of all; it contains besides not a few inaccuracies which might have been easily avoided by a little care, and the diagrams illustrating the various styles are *jejune* in the extreme. The measure of interest which the writer takes in his subject may be judged by the following extraordinary sentence: "The Royal Arms, with the initials of every sovereign from Elizabeth onwards, and with the coats of each dynasty, are among the most interesting and satisfactory memorials in our national churches."

An agreeable contrast is afforded by Mr. Gotch's Essay on Domestic Architecture, in which the subject is sketched with all the masterliness to be expected from his practised hand, and the gradual development of the Englishman's "Castle" into his "home" is described with a sufficiency of detail to make it not only instructive but interesting.

Mr. Oman, as a matter of course, writes on Military Architecture, and we are not sorry to find that in him the late Mr. G. T. Clark's "exploded" theories on the question of "*burhs*" and castles still have, at any rate, one convinced follower. His illustrations are drawn

largely from Viollet le Duc, and form a worthy counterpart to an essay which is itself fully worthy of Mr. Oman's reputation.

Mr. Hartshorne's contribution on Costume is sufficient to frighten off the would-be student by the manner in which it simply bristles with technical terms, when plain English would do equally well; and in his case the rather inordinate love which most of these writers have for *Italics* fairly runs riot, and becomes almost a disease.

The Editor himself treats of Heraldry, and makes the very best use of his limited space; but his subject is one that abhors compression, and consequently, with the best intentions in the world, it is impossible to avoid a certain meagreness in the filling up of the outlines; and in view of his statement that coat-armour was a *preuve de noblesse*, one feels that a course of study of *The Ancestor* would add a more solid substratum of fact to his evident enthusiasm and love for the gentle art.

Mr. Oppenheim's essay on Shipping is altogether delightful and illuminative; those on town and country life, trade and commerce, learning and education, are as adequate as could be expected. Dr. Jessopp writes elegantly on Monasticism, but throws no new light on the subject; the concluding essay on Art by Mr. Rushforth is well illustrated and comprehensive, but thin and in some respects inaccurate. The book is said to be intended for the upper classes of schools, and it will be a good day for education when such subjects are really included in the curriculum; but before that day arrives, Mr. Barnard will have time to improve it considerably. Meanwhile, the student of English mediæval life must go direct to the sources, or at least to the authorities given at the close of each essay. These are, however, by no means exhaustive, *e.g.*, neither Mr. Prior's *Gothic Architecture in England* nor Blomfield's *Architecture of the Renaissance* are referred to.

Christian Art and Archaeology. By WALTER LOWRIE, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., 10s. 6d. net.)—The subject of this book, which is described in the sub-title as "A Handbook to the Monuments of the Early Church," lies somewhat outside the range of the student of British archaeology, and yet no one who desires fully to understand the origins of the ecclesiastical monuments of Britain can afford to neglect it. As an example, we need only point to any parish church, for its very shape, modified but not structurally altered through the centuries, goes back in a direct line of descent to the Roman Basilica, and this is specially discernible where the Norman apsidal termination to the choir has not been changed in later times.

The author deals expressly with the *monumental* remains of Christian antiquity from the second to the sixth century; and as he has studied at

Rome, his conclusions are drawn at first hand. These are, that the early Church cultivated art with enthusiasm, and that this art was the direct and natural outcome of the Pagan classical art which preceded it.

The monuments treated of comprise the Catacombs of Rome, which are fully described and illustrated, large use being made, as was inevitable, of the researches of Bosio, De Rossi, and the disciples of the latter; and here we note that a certain measure of support is accorded to De Rossi's theory, which has been so widely accepted, viz., that in order to gain recognition by the State, and to secure immunity, as far as possible, in times of persecution, the Christian communities throughout the Roman Empire had themselves registered as burial societies, by which means they also obtained legal protection in the possession of their property. The Abbé Duchesne, however, objects to this theory that it is neither proven nor plausible.

The succeeding section of the book describes the development of church architecture, and the evolution of the Christian place of worship out of the Basilica, with a full account of the origin of the dome from a square base.

The account given of early Christian painting, comprising chiefly the frescoes in the Catacombs, the explanation of the conventional symbolism employed, the sculptures on sarcophagi and doors, the ivory carvings, and the mosaics and miniatures, besides "the Minor Arts" (which include all manner of church ornaments, such as amulets, medals, objects in lead and silver, and glass, church embroideries, tapestry, altar-cloths and hangings), and civil and ecclesiastical dress, is adequate and up to the level of the most recent modern discoveries, and on each and all the author has something fresh and stimulating to say. Thus the spontaneous and natural, though conventional, symbolism of the early Church leads on by an inevitable process to the lifeless formalism of the Middle Ages, stifled by too much system; the study of the ivory carvings, especially the beautiful examples from Brescia and Ravenna, shows at once the influence of the Italian art of the fifth and succeeding centuries upon the ruder work of the Anglo Saxons of the eighth century, of which a fine example is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum. The process of manufacture of the inimitable gold glass, now a lost art, is as far as possible surmised; the origin of tapestry is sought in the vanished textile work of the ancient Egyptians; and the development of the sacred vestments of the Christian clergy out of the ordinary garb of the Roman laymen, is traced more scientifically than it was by the late Dean Stanley in his book on *Christian Institutions*.

The book is adorned with nearly two hundred beautifully executed

illustrations; there is a capital bibliography, and a good and comprehensive index.

Altogether, this is a handbook which we most heartily recommend to every one who is interested in the growth of Early Christian Art, and who desires to know the latest that may be known of its archæology.

Memorials of Old Buckinghamshire. Edited by P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Bemrose and Sons, 12s. 6d. net.).—In this book, which is charmingly got up, the accomplished Editor of the *Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Archaeological Journal* has put together a series of Papers, written by himself and several friends, on the antiquities of one of the most fascinating of the English Counties.

Its quiet, pastoral scenery, its wooded hills and dales, and peaceful streams account, no doubt, for its association with poets and literary men, and are no less responsible for its attractiveness to statesmen.

The Editor contributes a capital *résumé* of the history of the County, and also a Paper on "Literary Bucks;" the late Rev. Randolph Pigott writes on Shakespeare, Bulstrode and Boarstall Tower; the Rev. W. H. Summers on the homes of Milton and the Penn family; Mrs. Cleminson on Medmenham Abbey and Fawley Court; and other Papers tell of Stowe and its gardens, Hampden House and John Hampden, Chequers and Oliver Cromwell, and other such subjects.

The Editor's Papers and Mr. Pigott's are considerably above the level of most of the rest, for even though the book belongs properly to that usually objectionable class known as popular archæology, we cannot help feeling that a little more supervision by the Editor over his contributors would have been an advantage. For instance, Mrs. Cleminson tells us nothing new about Medmenham Abbey, and her account of the celebrated "Hell-fire Club" is singularly inadequate—which was, however, perhaps unavoidable. At the same time, she might have enlightened us as to the way in which Sir Francis Dashwood founded the Club there: for there is nothing to show what right he had over the place at all. She informs us that the Club was formed "about the middle of the last century," *i.e.*, the eighteenth; but in 1750 the Abbey was in the hands of the Duffield family, and these, apparently, had no part in the Club or its affairs.

The same lady tells us that the heart of Paul Whitehead, secretary of the Medmenham mysteries, was deposited in an urn in the mausoleum at West Wycombe Church, built by Lord Le Despenser (formerly Sir F. Dashwood) in 1757, and adds, "He died December 30th, 1774," which is certainly a remarkable performance.

Again, in the Paper on Stowe House, we are not told who was its

architect, though a good description is given of the house, and the wonderful gardens laid out by "Capability Brown," with their Pagan temples, erected by Kent and Gibbs, in which Horace Walpole loved to wander, and which Pope immortalized.

To mention "Bucks" is to think of John Hampden, William Penn, Edmund Burke, and Lord Beaconsfield among statesmen, and Milton, Gray, and Cowper among poets; and of all these, in their associations with the County, a delightful account is given.

There are many illustrations, taken from photographs, which are excellently reproduced, and recall many a lovely scene, but they are not of much artistic value.

On the whole, though this book was not absolutely wanted, and needs improvement, yet it is one which will repay perusal on the part of those who are not too severe in their standard of originality, and is one to be recommended to all visitors to the County who wish to possess a handy repertoire of familiar facts.

We have on our Library table:—*The Ancestor*, No. II, in which the reputation gained by the first number is fully maintained, and indeed increased. The only question that arises is whether this new Quarterly will be able to reach continuously the high level at which it has started; but, with its staff of writers, this seems not impossible; and *The Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., vol. xv, which contains an excellent article by Mr. C. H. Firth, on the "Later History of the Ironsides;" an exhaustive examination of the "Negotiations preceding the Peace of Lunéville, 1801," by Miss L. M. Roberts, and a lucid investigation of the history of the "Denarius S. Petri in England," by Dr. Jensen.

We have also received the *Katalog der Bibliothek des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom*, von AUGUST MAU, published by Von Loescher & Co., Rome, which is a singularly complete and well-arranged catalogue of one of the finest antiquarian libraries in the world; and, among other books which must await notice as space permits, we must mention the first two volumes of the illustrated edition of *Social England*, edited by H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L., and T. S. MANN, M.A. (London: Cassell and Co.). This fine work is to be completed in six volumes, and the present instalments, both in letterpress and illustrations, are fully worthy of its editors—of the first of whom, Dr. Traill, the whole literary world mourns the decease—and of its publishers.





GENERAL VIEW OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE LIBRARY ATTACHED TO THE
CHURCH OF ST. WALBURGA AT ZUTPHEN.

(From Clark's *Care of Books*.)



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CANTERBURY'S ANCIENT COINAGE.

BY S. W. KERSHAW, F.S.A.

(Read at the Newcastle Congress, July 24th, 1901.)



THE importance of Kent's capital, in situation lying almost midway between London and the Continent, naturally claims notice, and history was early developed in this old city, famous alike in church and state.

Kent, after A.D. 774, was included for a while in the kingdom of Mercia, and it is said that the penny was first introduced from the continent into Kent. The annals of Canterbury's coinage are somewhat diffuse: it appears that both Christ Church monastery and St. Augustine's had a right of coinage which, from early times, was approved by Royal authority.

There were seven moneyers allowed to the City of Canterbury: four of the King, two of the Archbishop, and one of St. Augustine's.

Hasted, the Kentish historian, also speaks of an exchange here, *Cambium Regis*; and Dr. Wilkins, in his *Concilia*, vol. i, p. 206, writes: "In Cantuaria sunt vii monetarii, quatuor Regis, duo Episcopi, et unius Abbatis."

The privilege of coining appears to have been lost at certain times, and then regained; this was the case especially with the Archbishop's mint and that of St. Augustine's.

In the time of Athelstan, it seems that only the Archbishop and the Abbot of St. Augustine's were allowed to occupy mints, the other issue being the "Royal" establishment above mentioned. The coinage of the Kentish kings lasted for about sixty years.

The right of coinage by the Primates, which they held together with certain other prerogatives, was, according to Selden the jurist, of common right as lords of the city of Canterbury, although this statement has been disputed. Archbishop Parker, who was learned in research, concurred in the above opinion. A general conclusion seems to indicate that neither prelates nor nobles coined money here, of common right, or in regard of the city, but acquired the usage and custom by other means. Athelard (Archbishop from 793-805) was the first to put his own name on the money he had coined. His successor, Wilfred, had on his coins the name "Dorovernia" (Canterbury), the first time a city or town appears on this series of coinage; and the Archbishops in their own right placed their names and effigies on the coins, and had their moneymen and wrought their mints, down to the Conquest. Some had indulgences with respect of coinage and rights accorded by grants and patents. When we come to the reign of King Athelstan, the coinage of the Saxon kingdom underwent a material alteration, the king taking the prerogative in his own hands. Although the minting process was fully set up in Canterbury, it seems the Archbishops, from this time to the Conquest, held their right in a limited way.

Before Athelstan's regulations, the Abbot of St. Augustine's struck his money within the walls of his abbey, but was afterwards obliged to keep his office within the walls of the city. Such an order we find mentioned by Thorne, the Kentish chronicler, who wrote "Abbot Silvester had his mint in civitate Cantuariæ."

The Archbishops exercised their privilege of coinage as

long as did the Abbots of St. Augustine's; they were dispossessed of them on Henry II's accession (A.D. 1154). The right was restored by Richard I, and the re-grant confirmed by King John in the first year of his reign, as shown in a charter for that purpose to Archbishop Hubert Fitzwalter (1193-1207), printed in Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae*, 1721.

The Archbishops of York also lost their privilege as to coinage in 1154, but had it restored to them 2 Henry III (1217). There now appears to have been a voluntary abandonment of the right of minting by the Primates of Canterbury, as it lay dormant till revived in the fifteenth century.

Among the letters of Archbishop Warham¹ are some to Wolsey, *circ.* 1528, in which the Archbishop points out "that by grauntes of diverse Kings I and my predecessors have always had a mint for coinage;" and he adds: "I desire not this for any grete profecte (profit) or advauntaige, that I shall have by this coynage, but only for the ease of suche the Kinges graces subjects as may more commodiously resorte to Canterbury then to the Tower." The above letter, entrusted to Ewyn Thompson, Keeper of the Archbishop's mints, was dated from Knole in Kent [1528], a manor-house of of the See of Canterbury. The whole correspondence is preserved in the Record office, London.

Cardinal Morton, 1486-1501 (a predecessor of Warham), seems to have struck coins on which the "m, m^{ton}," a rebus on his name appears, and in Henry VI's reign is a charter, dated 1447, confirming previous Royal grants for the continuance of the Canterbury mint. The original of this charter is preserved in Archbishop Stafford's Register at Lambeth, and printed in Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 553.

It will thus be seen that for over two hundred years the Canterbury coinage was maintained; we find its reappearance about the time of Archbishop Bouchier (1454-86), and continued more or less to the days of Thomas Cranmer (1533-56).

¹ Printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. i, pp. 9-41.

This Archbishop was the last to strike money; and among the *Chartæ Miscellaneæ* at Lambeth Library, vol. ii, is a grant of that Primate to Thomas Tillesworth, Master of the Mint there in 1534.

Twenty years later (1551), we read in the "Additional MSS." of the British Museum, of the closing of this mint; and that John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had instructions to Sir Reynold Scott for the sale of wood and coal in his custody "*upon the disolucion of the mynte at Canterbury*," dated from Greenwich. The mint-mark of Archbishop Cranmer was a Catherine-wheel and a half-groat of the time of Henry VIII; the initials T. C. (Thomas Cranmer) appeared thereon.

Besides the above mints, as I have before stated, there was a Royal Exchange, or "Cambium Regis," to which reference is often made in old archives. In the *Cottonian MSS.* (xxix, No. 2) is a petition, dated 1331, concerning the Keepers of "des Exchaunges de Londres et de Caunterberis."

Mention of this exchange occurs in the records of Christ Church, Canterbury. The building was standing in Edward III's time, and probably received its final orders from him. It appears to have been granted by King John in the 6th year of his reign, by the name of the "King's Change." An order of his successor, Henry III, enacted that "none should make change of plate or other masse of silver but only at his exchange of London or Canterbury."

The building was situated in the parish of All Saints, High Street, near the Black Friars, and was then called "Le Chaunge." Edward III, however, bestowed the property on Eastbridge Hospital as part endowment, after which the place fell into disuse and became ruinous. There also appears to have been a mint near this exchange: "De monetariis in parochia Sanctæ Mariæ Bredman," as mentioned in Somner's *Canterbury*.

Having sketched in brief the annals of the coinage, I shall indicate as far as possible the minting-places in the old Kentish city.

"*Mint Yard*" was the name given to the space near and around the present King's School, and the ancient "Almonry" of the Priors of Christ Church was used by Archbishop Cranmer for minting. The "Almonry" adjoined the Archbishop's Palace; little of the latter now remains, save a gateway tower, built into the wall and premises of Messrs. Gibbs' printing establishment in Palace Street.

Nearly all maps of Canterbury give the site of the "*Mint Yard*," as well as what is called "*Mint Yard Gate*," which led into Northgate, adjoining the old Palace. It seems there was another mint in a house, once the property of the Knights Templars in Canterbury; but I cannot assign its exact position.

Although Cranmer appropriated the ancient "Almonry" to minting purposes, the Kentish historians Somner and Battely maintain that the buildings which composed the "Almonry" were the *King's* offices for coining, and that the Archbishop's mints in early days were somewhere in the city, and *not* within the precincts of the Palace.

The Abbots of St. Augustine's, as we have seen, had their mint first within the Abbey walls, and afterwards in the city.

Examples of the coins themselves are preserved in the British Museum, some at Canterbury, and others in private collections. The first Archbishop of whom coins are known was Jaenberht (766-90), and then the series of Anglo-Saxon coins of the Primates continues for some time. Plegmund was the last Archbishop to strike coins during the Anglo-Saxon period. The abandonment for a while of mintage then occurred, and the revival of the Archbishop's right later on, when coins of Bouchier, Morton, Warham and Cranmer can be identified. The private mark or initials of the prelate by whom they were struck generally appears: the knot for Archbishop Bouchier, "W. A." for Warham, and other devices. Examples are also engraved in Speed and Camden, and in the valuable handbook of coins issued by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1899. We have thus seen that the coinage of Kent was both regal and ecclesiastical.

Kent remained under the control of Mercia until it was

incorporated into Wessex; and as the power of Mercia declined, the Archbishops no longer placed Mercian kings on the coins, but their own portraits.

Canterbury, famous from earliest time, has ever formed a central ground of history in all its departments. Whether we consider the Roman remains, the rich ecclesiastical and domestic work, or the monastic annals which crowd round Christ Church and St. Augustine's, in one and all, there is a vast field for study. In the less-known chronicles of the Mint, further light is thrown on another side of the ancient Kentish capital, ever a mine of research for the student and antiquary.¹

¹ For an account of the Canterbury Mint, up to, and including, the reign of Henry I, see *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I*, by W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., vol. i, pp. 17 and 128-139.

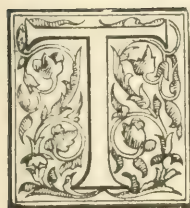




ON
SOME RECENTLY-DISCOVERED EARTHWORKS,
THE
SUPPOSED SITE OF A ROMAN ENCAMPMENT AT
COTTENHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

BY REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 102.)



THE earthworks in question are principally seen in a field of about eight and a half acres,¹ forming a part of what is known as "Bullock's Haste Common," a name of the origin of which I am ignorant, unless the word "haste" be synonymous with "hurst," in which case there would be a pointed allusion to the thickly-wooded district that in former days distinguished what is now a bare tract of country. The earthworks extend in a southerly direction into another field of about the same size, cutting the dividing hedge in several places. It shows a still further extension on the other side of a roadway known as "Setchel Drove," which runs almost parallel with Cottenham Lode, and occupies some three and a half acres of a field that is about thirteen and a half acres in extent. A very good idea of the relative positions of these several pieces of land may be gained by consulting the plan (facing p. 93), the preparation of which I owe to the kindness of a genial Cottenham resident, Mr. Arthur Bull, and his brother, Mr. John Bull of Buckhurst Hill, both of whom have evinced considerable interest in the matter, and given much time and attention to the in-

¹ This field may be found on the Six-inch Ordnance Map, Cambridgeshire, Sheet xxxiv, N.E., A.D. 1887, and may be distinguished by the "st" in the word "haste" and the letters "XH" in Cottenham Lode. In the 25-in. Map (Cambridgeshire, xxxiv, 7) the field is numbered 197.

vestigation of these earthworks. Indeed,¹ I have to thank Mr. Arthur Bull for first directing my attention to the subject of this inquiry. Outside the area of the plan there are further traces of the work.

The main feature of the earthworks is a large rectangular zigzag rampart, which in all probability enclosed the encampment, together with an elaborate distribution over a wide area of parallel lines, evidently formed with a distinct end in view, and in a most systematic manner. We have here, in fact, a species of what is known as *caponnière*, such as would be planned in the vicinity of a fortified ditch, for the purpose of giving protection to the defenders along the open earthen parapets, in their passage or covered way, as they moved from one defence to another. Such an arrangement of defence works, with salient angles and re-entering transverse lines, etc., seem certainly to have a place here.

The zigzag character of the outline would seem to be adapted for military use of the order I have named, and was in all probability originally enclosed by an outer stockade. But it is very difficult to make out anything approaching a definite plan, or one at all resembling the groundwork of the lines of defensive construction that we are accustomed to associate with military undertakings. The somewhat irregular character of the outline would, it may be reasonably conjectured, prove singularly effective in the event of an attack, which, if made from corresponding points in an opposite direction, and a like resistance offered from another quarter, would subject the enemy to a cross-fire. The irregularity of British earthworks is well known, consequently the character of entrenchments that would afford security and shelter would as likely as not, when occasion required, deviate from any accustomed form, and vary in shape according to the site. The Romans usually adopted the form of an exact square in planning these camps, but at a later period other forms were taken. The early miniatures that ornament ancient

¹ At the meeting of the Association, held at the Rooms, 37, Sackville Street, on February 6th, 1901, when this Paper was read, a large plan was exhibited, and plain photographed copies, which had been prepared for the purpose, were distributed by the kindness of Mr. John Bull.

MSS. have made us familiar with the attack by Roman soldiers upon the British, who are entrenched behind palisades, such as I can quite conceive would be found here, having in front of them a ditch and woodland around. Such a camp, of irregular form and full of intricate passages, pitched in a thick wood, defended by the palisade and flanked by a ditch like the Car-dyke, would long resist an attack, be it ever so well-manned. Then, again, if the work in question be of British origin, it must be borne in mind that the camp would serve mainly as a retreat, and not be stationary. It is also quite probable that the Romans, as in numerous instances when more important undertakings were concerned, may have modified in some way the works of their predecessors; the less permanent Roman camps unquestionably assumed great irregularity of form, not unlikely from this very cause. It is a point, I venture to think, worth attention. The chevron form was certainly greatly adopted in pitched battle, not only in ancient time, but in the Middle Ages. In that most interesting visit of our Association last year to the field upon which the Battle of Bosworth was fought, we remembered the words of Michael Drayton: how that

“ Into two several fights the King contrived his strength,
And his first battle cast into a wondrous length
In fashion like unto a wedge.”

I am strongly of opinion that the form of these earth-works will be found peculiar to our fen district, and it may even be to the locality of the Car-dyke, or rather that region bordered by the dense woodland, having the vast extent of woodland beyond.

But there is the further peculiarity disclosed by the plan, which although it furnishes no exact survey of all the ground, and lacks completeness of detail, is sufficient to indicate the remarkable character of a large number of geometrically-formed parallel entrenchments—terrace within terrace—which occur at irregular intervals. They would appear to be distributed upon an elaborate plan, which, in common with others (including such eminent archæologists as Professors McKenny Hughes and Ridgway), I find extremely baffling, and concerning which I can

offer no opinion particularly worth encouraging. So far from affording a clue to the character of the site, these strangely diverging marks of labyrinthine form and character, which may be said to bear some resemblance to the bars of a gridiron, are distinctly misleading. Up to the present the matter has been only very slightly investigated, and no work of excavation worth mention has taken place. With the object of exposing anything of the nature of foundations, etc., Mr. Arthur Bull lately made a cursory examination of one or more of the trenches, but he only succeeded in establishing dimensions, etc. The trenches on being opened to their original depth were found to be from 2 ft. in the "gridiron" trenches to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in the lower ones, *viz.*, below the present level. The breadth at the bottom was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. This would afford sufficient cover for men in the time of sudden danger. When first thrown up, the smaller trenches possibly would have been 5 ft. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, and the larger 6 ft. to 8 ft. deep. The trench indications are widely distributed over the upper portions of both fields. They are mostly single, but in the main follow the same lines and angles as the marks inside the rampart. It is noticeable that there is a slightly elevated mound close by the bed of the Car-dyke, which seems to point to the existence of a fortified position. To this suggested stronghold, men might perhaps pass unobserved along the trenches. Assuming, as I think we reasonably may, that the rampart or fosse with its methodical passages, seen to-day in narrow strips of earth, can have been designed for no other purpose than that of developing an efficiently garrisoned camp such as circumstances required, it would doubtless serve its design and purpose in commanding the passages into the Isle of Ely, and guarding all approaches within a considerable area. Although, as I have suggested, we have here only one of many stations (designed for the protection of the Fen district) that would be placed at important positions throughout an extended line of communication, yet it is extremely improbable that these military outposts would, to any extent, possess features in common. As we consequently cannot expect to find similar conditions prevailing, we must be content with little more than a bare

recognition of the principle that would appear to govern the construction of this particular form of Fen earthwork, wherever we may happen to discover traces. In a field near "Causeway End," in the adjoining parish of Waterbeach, in the immediate vicinity of Denney Abbey, Mr. Arthur Bull has pointed out to me some very decided indications of what we take to be a portion of a similarly-designed undertaking. An external ditch of irregular form is seen, together with a well-defined square camp having an external ditch and inner bank. There are also undoubted signs of the "gridiron" trenches, of a chevron-shaped entrenchment, etc., and what may be assumed to be "forts" of a rectangular form, confirming in a most striking manner what I have already advanced in regard to the Cottenham formation. Within two miles of the Cambridgeshire boundary, and on a level with the course of the Car-dyke, there are, in the parish of Somersham, Hunts., a continuation of these earthworks, although the severe angular form and the narrow strips or parallel trenches are wanting. But the corresponding features are too evident to be overlooked. Moreover, the find of Roman pottery, etc., at this spot discloses an undoubted connection, as I shall point out presently when I come to speak of the Roman pottery discovered at the Cottenham site.¹ There are marks of entrenchments at fairly equal distances on the Ouse, as at Godmanchester (*Durolipons*), Eynesbury, Holywell, and elsewhere. At Hartford, near Huntingdon, where some interesting discoveries were made some years ago of British and Roman antiquities, an earthwork of peculiar form awakened interest. It must have resembled the Cottenham work, inasmuch as it is described² as but little above the ordinary level of the pasture, yet retaining a very distinct outline. I have not seen the Hartford example, which is likened to "a turtle, flattened and elongated," but I consider it likely to be similar, in regard to its form, to the Cottenham earthworks. A conflict between the Britons and Romans

¹ Dr. Stukeley made some interesting discoveries near this particular spot in the road leading from Somersham to Chatteris, in 1757, but there is no allusion of any kind to earthworks, etc. (*Gent. Mag.*).

² *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., vol. v, pp. 34,5.

is known to have taken place at Hartford, on the north bank of the Ouse, and a passage into the Fens was opened by means of a ford.

It is necessary to mention—if only to anticipate like suggestions—that military occupation has by some been deemed less likely to have led to the construction of the earthworks at Cottenham, than commercial enterprise or the like. Among various reasons given is (1) the lack of any known plan or system, and the difficulty of devising a method that would fall in with the nature of the trenches as they exist at the present time; and (2) that the small breadth of the trenches would render them useless as defensive embarrassment. To which I would reply, that our want of knowledge of the reasons that actuated men of other days and scenes need not stand in the way of our acceptance of a theory which is largely supported alike by conjecture of the highest probability, if not by such positive evidence as can be offered in the discovery of Romano-British remains specially suggestive of military operations; while the lapse of centuries may have so far disturbed the condition of the earthworks as to render the dimensions of the trenches, etc., as we now see them, a little uncertain and misleading. But perhaps the most salient objection to a wharf or lading theory is found in the fact of the undoubted position of the trenches, far above the former water-level of the Car-dyke. I cannot, however, dismiss this view of the subject without some allusion to the use made of this locality (known as *Cotinglade* certainly as long since as the Norman Conquest) for the purpose of conveying material by water for the construction of the Aldreth Causeway at the time of William's invasion; but the employment of such terms in far-off days (indeed, they still remain with us in Rampton, which adjoins Cottenham) as *Port-Way*, *Short Port-Way*, *Ilaven*, etc., to designate points at a slight distance from the particular spot under notice, would lead one to think that the place of lading was beyond the site of the earthworks, and would in no way interfere with the ground plan. This leads me also to remark that I assume the earthworks to have had no connection with so late a period as the eleventh century. The scene of Hereward's conflict

was two miles higher up, where the Aldreth Causeway was connected (by the bridge that spanned the old West River) with the southern prolongation that passed by Belsar's Camp through Willingham, Rampton, and Histon, to the castle at Cambridge. The Aldreth Causeway supplied the only passable way to Ely, and here centred the affray that resulted in the conquest of the Saxon and the planting of the Norman banner. In the direction of the Causeway, vestiges of the fight have been found, but in the neighbourhood of the earthworks at Cottenham, nothing (as far as I am aware) has been discovered to give the slightest ground for supposing that Norman influence so far prevailed as to give any particular character to the spot.

In regard to the days of the ancient Britons, and the Romans who followed, the case is altogether different. We have abundant evidence of occupation under varying circumstances. The circular fortified camp in the immediate neighbourhood, an undoubted British earthwork, with which the name either of one Belisarius, a Roman general (who as late as A.D. 537 made an actual grant of Britain to the Goths in the name of the Emperor), or Bellisarius, the Norman general under William the Conqueror, is associated in the designation "Belsar's Hills," or "Belsar's Fields," as the case may be, was not only the rendezvous of William's army—his "field of council" in fact—but doubtless of severe conflicts and military exploits in the earlier days when Briton and Roman strove for supremacy. Stukeley refers to "Belsar's Hills" as "a Roman Camp repaired by the Conqueror's soldiers." I have elsewhere endeavoured to weigh the evidence in regard to the several controversial points¹ connected with these most interesting remains of antiquity, and have also brought together various like matters that I deemed of some importance. Briefly, this British work was presumably taken over by the Romans, and in the turn of events utilised by the Normans. Weapons of the British period, as well as pottery and other antiquarian objects of the days of Roman supremacy, have been discovered in

¹ *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, vol. i.

this locality. Here it was that the Iceni had their home, and from hence were driven by the Romans under Ostorius, who doubtless succeeded in keeping them at bay, mainly by a line of camps (of which I imagine the Cottenham site furnishes us with an example) very much in the same way, and with a like end in view, as that commander designed in his succession of camps, *e.g.*, along the Severn and Avon rivers. Indeed, this scheme of placing camps by important streams appears everywhere to have been a feature of the Roman invasion, and one which success emboldened that tactical people extensively to employ. In the work of clearing the woods, banking the fens, and fortifying enclosures, the Romans "wore out and consumed the bodies" of such of the Britons whom they brought into subjection.¹ Severus, one of the Roman emperors, is said to have visited Britain; and to enable warfare the more successfully to be waged, made causeways over the fens. The waning power of the Romans was undoubtedly the main cause (and point to the precise period) for the construction of such artificial defences or earthworks as we find in the fens and elsewhere. The refractory hordes that poured forth from their places of marshy retreat necessitated the employment of huge garrisons and strongly-fortified positions.² Considering the numerous relics of Romano-British occupation that have been brought to light, it seems strange that so little attention has been directed to the subject, and that no notice should have been taken of such striking features as the indications of an extensive system of earthworks afford.

It would, I must confess, be anything but easy to advance a convincing theory as to Roman occupation at Cottenham, if it were not for very considerable finds of pottery that have lately been made on or near the site of the earthworks. Without any elaborate search or organised investigation, Romano-British pottery of various kinds, including much that is fragmentary, but some very

¹ "Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt, annum in frumentum. Corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis verbera inter ac contumelias conterunt.—Tacitus, *Agricola*, xxxi.

² In a Paper printed in the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archæological Society's *Transactions* (vol. i), I have ventured to estimate the strength of the Cottenham garrison at three or four thousand.



ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY FOUND IN OR NEAR THE SUPPOSED BED OF THE CAR-DYKE,
COTTENHAM, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

fine and nearly perfect pieces, have been discovered, mainly in and around the dry bed of the Car-dyke, but not exclusively. No particular examination of the ground marked by the earthwork trenches has, however, been yet made; and with the exception of what has been brought to light by mere surface disturbance of the soil, no discovery of pottery, etc., has been brought about. It has been deemed advisable to refrain from anything approaching systematic exploration, until such time as the advice and personal oversight of qualified experts can be obtained. It is not too much, I think, to expect that some most interesting discoveries will result from such an investigation.

The illustration that accompanies this Paper will serve to explain the general character of the pottery that has been found. The elegance of the Durobrivian ware is seen in certain fragments, ornamented in relief with some mythological subject. Examples of the lustrous red ware, known as Samian, are not wanting. Three mutilated bottoms show the potter's stamp, wholly or in part, in clear relief. Upon the largest piece—that shown in the illustration, suspended against the screen immediately below the upper tier of three vases—(diameter 4 in.) appears (on a base that rises slightly to the centre), within an oblong (1 in.), the capital Roman letters "IVL'NWIIDI." This seems to be a name included in the Potter's marks found on Samian ware, given in the collection of the Hon. R. C. Neville and elsewhere.¹ Another specimen has the oblong stamp within a circle; a further example has the concluding letters "NIM" in part of an oblong. There are other smaller fragments of the same ware bearing marks of slight ornamentation; these are of different degrees in point of quality, but all are of importance, especially on account of the undoubted indications they afford of a certain amount of refinement and culture that seems to have gone side by side with the rougher life of the settlers. Some of the pottery is extremely coarse, and of a dull grey hue; portions of *amphoræ* are conspicuous for a heavy overhanging rim, and in some cases show bands of vertical lines and similar

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv, pp. 3, 375; *Collectanea Antiqua*, Nos. x and xi.

ornamentation. Other examples include the unglazed, wide-mouthed, and full-bodied vessel of grey slate colour, occasionally decorated with a diamond pattern formed by the intersection of lines, having below a single band of indented holes; the small wide-mouthed vessel of light or dark grey (probably Upchurch ware), standing from 3 in. to 4 in. high, the body of the vase of considerable size, with a small base and small round rim (a similar form is repeated in thick black ware); and vases having the body springing from a neat base which gradually swells into globular form, the sides receding, forming a short neck with overlapping rim, of a cream or dark slate colour. One, all but perfect specimen of a handsome vase of elegant form and dull brown colour (found by Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White, of the King's School, Ely), is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the mouth. The base is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and greater in diameter at the bottom than where it joins the body of the vessel. The hexagonal body itself is some 5 in. high, each of its six sides being deeply indented by the thumb or hand of the potter, the very marks of the worker's skin being indeed impressed on the ware. Around these indentations is a band of two parallel and lightly marked lines. The upper part of the body slightly falls in, receiving the collar or rim, which is ornamented by two sharply-cut lines. The lower portions of similar vessels are of white ware, coated with a dark pigment. In one or two larger examples the decoration is of a ribbed or fluted kind, with horizontal and oblique lines. The remaining portion of an *amphora* has a particularly noticeable and uncommon type of ornament, in the form of a series of straight lines going up from the collar. A portion of what may possibly be described as an "*unguentarium*" of dark red colour, having a plain and small mouth, is ornamented with broad raised rings. The remains of a colander of dark grey ware, the holes of which radiate from a common centre, portions of *pateræ*, and other like articles of domestic use of varying character, all serve to establish the theory that the site in question was occupied, at what may be termed the flourishing period of Roman ascendancy in Britain, by a people not only allied to the

arts of war, but living under the ordinary conditions of settled daily life.

Some of the coarser pottery not unlikely is of local manufacture; a potter's kiln may not only have been in the immediate neighbourhood, but it has actually been suggested that these earthworks at Cottenham bear some resemblance at least, in their unobtrusiveness and general appearance and arrangement, to what we might look for in a field where clay was worked and pottery turned out.¹ The lines, however, that mark the earthworks, as well as their extent and situation of the isolated tract of Fen borderland, is distinctly unfavourable—antagonistic, in fact—to any such notion: although I may add that bricks are certainly still made in Cottenham, but at a considerable distance. A little more than four miles off there is also the hamlet of *Clayhithe*, which clearly derives its name from the reputation it has enjoyed for hundreds of years, as a place yielding an abundant supply of material for the manufacture of pottery, etc., which is still carried on. Much of the pottery found on the Cottenham site may have been fabricated there.

Within a short distance, on land known as “Hemp-sall's” (which has long been under the plough), the surface is strewn with broken pottery. We have also there found much of a coarse kind of grit-stone or conglomerate, in small broken pieces. I hardly know whether we ought to attach any importance to this, only that it looks very much as if the settlement at Cottenham was continuous in this direction, especially as a bank passing through a field of original pasture, but lost in the cultivated land on either side, may in all probability be the work of Roman settlers, who here may have been established under somewhat more permanent conditions than would have been possible in direct connection with a specially entrenched or fortified position.² What lends colour to this is the

¹ This was an idea that greatly impressed more than one of those present at the time this Paper was read.

² At the ordinary meeting of the Association, on the evening this Paper was read, fragments of the grit-stone was handed round for inspection, and I have since been favoured with further observations regarding the

not-unimportant fact that the site is in a direct line with Earith, where are the "Bulwarks," a remarkable example of a bastioned fortress on the bank of the river Ouse, doubtless of Roman origin. A considerable number of objects of antiquity have been discovered here, including a very fine bronze statuette, now in the British Museum. Many beautiful bronze antiquities, and an abundance of pottery and coins, all of Roman date, have indeed been found in recent years at "Hemsall's" in Willingham parish, between Cottenham and Earith. At Cottenham, a few years since, a remarkable Roman bust, together with other objects of like interest, was found. These discoveries, regarded in connection with the more recent points of interest raised in this Paper, are not only highly suggestive, but point to the locality as being of such very special importance that it is deserving of much closer attention than it has yet received. It certainly offers a field for patient investigation in a direction that has been very inadequately followed, swamp and forest offering so few traces of Roman civilisation.

I must not omit to mention that the only other objects of interest recently found in or near the Cottenham site are quite insignificant. They include a portion of what has the appearance of a bone hair-pin or, it may be a *stylus*, such as would have been used for writing on a wax tablet, picked up on the ploughed field at "Hemsall's." It is broken off in the upper portion, where a series of notches commence.

In bringing this Paper to a conclusion, I should add that I was at one time disposed to regard the peculiar formation at Cottenham as indicative of an early example of the common-field system; or, more likely still, the remains of a British village, or marshland settlement, on the low-lying edge of the fen, rather than anything else; but whatever may have been its very early history, I am now disposed to discard any such hypothesis, and to accept the theory of military occupation exclusively.

mineral, which is described as a "coarse-grained mass of rounded and sub-angular grains of quartz." . . . Derbyshire mill-stone grit, that has not reached Cambridgeshire by natural means . . . , weathered to an extent implying prolonged exposure.



LINDISFARNE PRIORY, NORTHUMBERLAND.

BY REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S.L.

(Read at the Newcastle Congress, July 23rd, 1901.)

(Continued from p. 128.)



THE splendid Priory of Lindisfarne, whose ruins are still grand in their desolation and decay, has been so often described that it is difficult to find anything new to say on the subject. All I can do is to endeavour to reconstruct, in imagination, the buildings as they existed in their prime, giving the results of my own observation and research, so that some idea may be obtained of the appearance presented by the Benedictine Priory in this lonely spot, during the four centuries and a half of its existence. The history of the earlier monastery and bishopric of Saxon days, when the kingdom of Northumbria flourished, has been already given in the previous Paper, pp. 115-128.

First of all, I must invite consideration of the ruins as they stand.

These consist of the remains of the church, together with the foundations and some portion of the walls of the monastic buildings, in the usual position on the south side. Those who visited Holy Island with the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1884 saw nothing beyond the church, and the great wall of the Prior's Hall, but mounds of earth and heaps of rubbish, extending to the hill which bounds the Priory enclosure on the south. During the years 1888-1890, however, extensive excavations were carried out by the liberality of the late Sir Wm. Crossman, the Lord of the Manor; and it is now possible for the visitor to see the full extent of the

buildings, and to picture their original use and purpose with some degree of probability.

But before passing on to these, we must endeavour to saturate ourselves with the beauty and the grandeur of the church : untouched, except at the east end, since the days of its first Norman builders.

As they stand before the west front, and pass through the door, with its rich and characteristic ornamentation, into the nave, those who know Durham Cathedral involuntarily exclaim : "This is Durham in miniature ! It breathes the same spirit ; it is of the same period ; the workmanship is the same in character, though the workmen may have differed."

And they are right, as will be seen when we come to the history of the Priory.

But let us look once more at the fabric. How grand is the material, the fine red sandstone brought laboriously over from the neighbouring mainland, for the island itself furnishes none such, nor any very suitable for buildings. How it harmonizes with its surroundings, especially when the sky is blue overhead, and the sea a deep azure beyond, and the sunshine floods the whole with a radiant light, bringing out the salient surfaces, and throwing the recesses into a deep but coloured shade ! How well adapted, too, is this stone for all the purposes of Norman ornamentation !

Verily, Scott was right when he spoke of it as a "solemn, huge, and dark red pile."

The present structure is, as I have said, Norman. There are those who fancy they can see traces of the previous Saxon church in the present walls, and the custodian of the building—a most intelligent old man, and a perfect encyclopædia of all the lore connected with the Priory, of which he is so justly proud—will point out Saxon work on the north and south walls of the chancel ; but on this point I agree with the opinions expressed by Mr. Micklethwaite and Mr. Low, at the meeting of the Institute on the Island in 1884. It used to be the fashion to see evidences of Saxon work (or perhaps we ought to call it pre-Norman) in numbers of buildings, which are now, on historical and architectural grounds,

rightly considered to be altogether Norman. For example, at the Gloucester Meeting of this Association, in 1846, Mr. Edward Cressy, Architect, adduced the evidence of Lindisfarne, to support his contention of Saxon work in Gloucester Cathedral. His words are : "As this monastery was deserted by the monks in the year 884, when they first settled at Chester-le-Street, not removing to Durham till 995, we may infer that the earlier portions of the buildings we see at Lindisfarne were constructed previous to either of those periods ;" (a very large inference) "and that the columns at Durham, bearing so strong a resemblance in their special fluting, were in imitation of those forming a portion of St. Cuthbert's Church, which had been greatly improved by Ethelwold after he became Bishop, during whose time Ceolwulf abdicated the throne of Northumberland, became a monk here, and the patron of Bede. "Additions," he goes on, "were made in the twelfth century, after it became a convent for Benedictine monks, which was very discernible from the earlier portion of the fabric, both in execution and design." He proceeds to quote Sir Walter Scott's lines in *Marmion* :—

"In Saxon strength that abbey frowned,
With massive arches broad and round,
That rose alternate row on row,
On ponderous columns short and low ;
Built ere the art was known,
By pointed aisle and shafted stalk,
The arcades of an alleyed walk
To emulate in stone,"

as showing that the great Romancist "considered the arches strictly Saxon."

Now Durham Cathedral is strictly Norman, and the process was rather the other way about. Lindisfarne is modelled on Durham, not Durham on Lindisfarne. Sir Walter Scott, with all his undoubted learning, is not to be taken as an authority on archaeology or architecture. Moreover, we must remember that (as was everywhere the case) the first Saxon buildings were of wood, and there is no evidence that here they were ever anything else. Bede tells us, indeed, that Aidan's buildings were chiefly of mud and a few stones, and thatched with "bents," a reed which grows luxuriantly on the links ;

but his successor Finan made the church, after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but of hewn oak, and he also covered it with reeds ; while Eadbert, who came to the See in 688, took off the thatch and covered it, both roof and walls, with plates of lead. But these buildings were all destroyed, burnt and razed to the ground, during the great incursion of the Danes in the latter half of the ninth century, and for two hundred years the island lay desolate. Mr. C. C. Hodges, the writer of an article in the *Builder* for June 1st, 1895 (to which I would refer all students of the subject), argues strongly in favour of the idea that there are some remains of a pre-Norman church embedded in the present choir. He says : "There can be no doubt that a stone church existed on the site between the ninth and twelfth centuries ;" and further : "There seems to have been a church of some kind on the site in 1069 ;" and from the statements made by Reginald of Durham, who graphically relates the building of this Norman church, he concludes : "That the pre-Norman church had been built of the poor stone on the island, which is a soft white sandstone of fine grain, while the Norman church is built of the hard coarse sandstone, of a dark reddish colour, from the mainland ;" and proceeds : "the lower part of the wall of the north transept, the north side of the nave in one or two places, and the lower portion of the west wall of the choir on the south side, are pieces of masonry of a totally different character from the rest of the building." These are built of the soft white stone, and the walling is coursed rubble work, the stone being long and thin, and very different from the regular square ashlar of the Norman part." He concludes : "It seems that all this inferior walling is part of a former church, and was left *in situ* when the Norman building was set out."

It must be remembered, however, that while Mr. Hodges and those who think with him, or Mr. Micklethwaite and those who think with him, may be right, Mr. Cressy and his supporters (if any are left) are in either case altogether wrong.

Rickman was the first who contended against those who, when he commenced to study architecture, classified

all ancient English architecture having semicircular arches as Saxon; and he justly said that such a classification included all that was truly Norman. He thought the existence of real Saxon work of very early date probable, though not ascertained (see *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxiv, p. 360).

At the present time, perhaps, we are a little inclined to be too sceptical in the other direction, though it is almost impossible to mistake a bit of real pre-Norman walling, or an arch, or a window.

With regard, however, to Mr. Hodges' supposition that there was "a church of some kind on the site in 1069," it may be noted that Symeon of Durham's account of the ravaging of Northumbria by William the Conqueror, in 1069, implies no such inference. This writer says: "Egelwine, Prior of Durham, fled north, bearing the sacred relics of St. Cuthbert. The holy fugitives took their way towards Lindisfarne; they rested the first night at Jarrow . . . and on the fourth day, in the evening, the Bishop, with a vast concourse of people, arrived on the shore, opposite to the Holy Island, when they found the sea at high water. The severity of the winter rendered the night air intolerable to the aged and infirm, and much lamentation was heard, when, by a particular interposition, the sea retired and left a dry passage for the wanderers, who with loud thanksgivings and holy joy passed over to the island" (*Sym. Dun.*, Ed. 1732, pp. 183, 184).

This implies that there were buildings *for shelter* of some kind on the island, but not a word is said as to any church or any remains of one. I therefore hold that we see before us not a "restoration" (*Ency. Brit.*, 9th Ed., vol. xii, p. 105) by the Normans, but the remains of a pure Benedictine priory of the latter half of the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century. And these ruins are all the more interesting, because they show exactly what a Benedictine church of the twelfth century was. As Mr. Micklethwaite said: "All Benedictine churches were built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were altered as people got more room or more ambition, till often very little of the original work was left. Here

it was not so. This work was not free from alteration, but it retained its original character more than any other Benedictine church he knew."

The alteration will be mentioned presently, but we will first consider the original church as it may now be seen, thanks to the recent excavations.

It was in the year 1082, or 1083, when William Carileph was Bishop of Durham, and some portion of the stately Cathedral there was already built, that a cell of Benedictine monks set out to repossess themselves of the mother-cell at Lindisfarne, "which had been originally the episcopal See, with its adjacent village of Fenham, and the church of Norham."

From this date all charters speak of it as Holy Island, stating that it was now so called on account of the sacred blood shed there by the Danes. Ten years passed away in nursing their strength, and then, in 1093, they commenced on the very spot where the charred remains, grass-grown and almost indistinguishable, of the former structure stood, to rear the perfect building now in ruins. It was completed, dedicated, and opened about 1120.

This building was an exact example of what Mr. Prior (*History of Gothic Art*) calls "the Romanesque or Norman Benedictine Church Plan," in its simplest form. The churches of St. Etienne, at Caen, and of Jumièges, are on an almost precisely similar plan. It consists, as may be seen, of a nave of six bays, with north and south aisles, short transepts, north and south, terminating in apsidal chapels to the east, of which the southern one remains; a long choir without aisles, also terminating in an apse, the foundations¹ of which may clearly be seen as the result of the recent excavations. There was a central tower supported on two transverse arches, enriched with the dog-tooth ornament, of which one, the beautiful (so-called) "Rainbow" arch, remains. The tower was standing as late as 1750-80, and is figured in Grose's *Antiquities*. It rose three stages above the wall-heads. The first received the roofs of the four wings of the church. The second stage was a low one, and quite plain.

¹ This is marked as belonging to the pre-Norman Church, on Mr. Hodges' plan.—*See* *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

The next, the belfry stage, had external arcades of five numbers in each face, recessed, and with a corbel table extending the length of the recess. Above was, no doubt, another corbel table, a parapet, square angle-turrets, and a pyramidal roof. Only the two eastern piers of the northern nave arcade remain and the base of a third, but from these their character and that of the arches which sprang from them may clearly be ascertained. The piers on which the great central tower was supported are clustered with small columns, as is also the western of the two remaining piers. This shows that the nave arcade rested on piers alternately cylindrical and clustered, as at Durham. There were three pairs of cylindrical and two pairs of clustered piers in the nave when complete. The cylindrical columns, to judge from the remaining one, on which is hatched a threefold chevron, were all ornamented with Norman detail. The columns were 5 ft. in diameter and not more than 12 ft. high, their capitals and bases being plain mouldings. The central pair of cylindrical piers had a treatment which was probably unique. This consisted of three bands of sunk and moulded lozenges in the height of the pier. Between these bands were plain mouldings of bold sections, worked round the circumference of the piers, giving them the appearance of having been turned in a lathe.

A single course of stones is all that remains of these two piers.

In fact, the nave arcades are carefully modelled on those at Durham, with some variation of detail. The building was, indeed, as we have said, a miniature Durham, its very smallness apparently adding to its beauty.

The nave terminated in a west front, characteristic of the Norman style at its best, before it had reached the almost excessive ornamentation of, let us say, Castleacre. The central portion was in six stages. The west door, composed of three orders, was richly ornamented with dog-tooth mouldings, but above was a plain window, divided into two by a short column on the interior, and above that another plain window. It was flanked by two blind arches on each side, springing from triple

shafts, similar to those of the external wall-arcade at Durham, and the whole composition was completed by two flanking towers, of which that to the south alone remains, ruined at the top. The wall-space was quite plain, except for the string-courses making five stages in the height. There was a nook-shaft at each corner.

Internally the west wall shows a richly-moulded doorway, above which is an arcade of five arches, quite plain, but supported by shafts, with cushion capitals and moulded bases.

In the fifteenth century, about 1440-1450, the prevalent mania for alterations seized even the monks of Lindisfarne, and they accordingly took down the apsidal ending to their chancel, and enlarged it to about double its previous length and built the present square termination, with a large Perpendicular east window.¹ But this, fortunately, was the only change effected, and this church remains, as Mr. Mickletonwaite said, with that exception, the most perfect example of a Norman building to be found in our islands.

There was formerly a door on the north side opening into the sanctuary close, but this has been, at some date unknown, blocked up. On the east wall of the staircase leading to the ruins of the north tower, may be seen a curious specimen of Norman wall-sculpture, enclosed in a glass case for the sake of preservation. It represents some grotesque and nondescript animal, having a lamb's head and dragon's tail, such as may be seen elsewhere on Norman tympana. The stone seems to be in its original position, and is probably merely the outcome of the ebullient genius of some Norman artificer. Those who love to see symbolism everywhere may, perhaps, look upon it as intended to represent the Lamb, *i.e.*, Our Saviour, overcoming by the power of intelligence the brute force of the Evil One, and guarding the entrance to the sacred fane.

¹ Mr. Hodges says that "the most puzzling thing about the church is to decide how the choir was built." He claims that besides the remains of the pre-Norman church, there are evidences of Norman work of two dates, of which the western part is the earlier, and that the great eastward extension was carried out in the thirteenth century

Let us now take a survey of the conventual buildings, which the recent excavations have made singularly easy and interesting. They are to be found—as always in Benedictine, and in almost all monastic foundations—to the south of the church.

“They are extensive and peculiar,” says Mr. Hodges. No portion is of Norman date, from which he infers that the Benedictines made use of buildings of the Anglian period for something like a century and a half. I, however, contend that there were no Anglian buildings left to make use of. Anyway, new buildings seem to have been begun in the first half of the thirteenth century, and to have been in process of building, extension or alteration, almost continuously down to the Dissolution in 1537.

The battlemented walls and the barbican show that the church and buildings were all well adapted for defence, as may still be easily seen.

We will imagine ourselves visitors, royal, episcopal, or otherwise, to the Priory, and we shall find that we have to approach it by a great gateway, due south and slightly west of the church. This is flanked on the outside by the porter's lodge, and, in later times, has been built up. On entering we find ourselves in a large courtyard, with a paved causeway, leading due north to the main entrance to the Priory, which is guarded by a portcullis. Passing through this, we have the refectory on our right hand, and the bakery, with its huge oven still plainly visible, some of the stones even reddened by the fire, the kitchen and other offices, on our left. To the north of the refectory extends the cloister, an oblong, the length east to west being half that north to south, the whole of the south side being occupied by the refectory. This room, being only occupied at meal-times, was not warmed by a fireplace, but by an open hearth in the centre towards the east. The pavement remains, blackened by fire, and the smoke must have escaped through the roof. The foundations of the inner wall of the cloister remain on all sides, but no traces of the walls, windows, or roof. Along the east side ran the chapter-house, approached by a door from the south transept. This must have been a fine chamber, with a beautiful groined roof.

Unfortunately, this has been divided into three compartments by party-walls, which may be seen, in later times, but the side-shafts, of which there were three, besides the corner columns, remain, one being embedded in one of the walls. To the south extends the *scriptorium*¹ of the monastery, one of the seats in the wall being still plainly distinguishable, and the *Culidarium*, or room warmed by a stove, in which the monks could take their recreation in winter, over which was the dormitory. Beyond this was the Prior's Hall, in which guests were received, and in which two large fireplaces and one chimney remain. Beyond this again was the *Infirmarium*.

Away to the east may be seen a barbican, or watch-tower, which tradition assigns as the place in which Constance of Beverley was immured, as described so graphically by Sir Walter Scott.

It will be remembered, however, that the poet, with more verisimilitude, describes the terrible scene of the last trial and condemnation of Constance and her companion as taking place in one of the dungeons of the precincts.

The beautiful lines will bear repetition :—

“ Far different was the scene of woe,
Where, in a secret aisle beneath,
Council was held of life and death.
It was more dark and lone, that vault,
Than the worst dungeon cell ;
Old Ceolwulf built it, for his fault,
In penitence to dwell,
When he, for cowl and beads, laid down
The Saxon battle-axe and crown.
This den, which chilling every sense
Of feeling, hearing, sight,
Was called the Vault of Penitence,
Excluding air and light.”

¹ It was in the *Scriptorium*, as its name implies, that the copying of the manuscripts of the Gospels, and other writings, sacred and profane, was carried on by the one or more monks among the brethren specially qualified for that work ; and here the chronicler, if such there was, composed his narrative of events.

There is no record of a chronicler at Lindisfarne ; but Hexham, Durham, and other northern monasteries produced, in Richard of Hexham, Symeon and Reginald of Durham, and Bede, writers qualified to compete with Florence of Worcester, Geofrey of Monmouth,

And then, after the poor maid's impassioned defence of herself, for her broken vows, and for her following of the perjured Marmion for three long years as his page, through her great love for him, follows the blind old Abbot's doom upon the guilty pair—

“Sister, let thy sorrows cease ;
Sinful brother, part in peace.”

There is no doubt that the punishment of immurement alive was awarded in the Middle Ages to such of the religious as broke their vows, but it is very doubtful whether such a scene as the Great Wizard of the North has conjured up was ever enacted within the walls of Lindisfarne. In any case, the dramatic sense is better satisfied by conceiving it to have occurred in such a den as the poet describes, than in a turret open to the day ; and this barbican was probably never anything more than a watch-tower over the sea.

It is curious, in connection with this scene, that a stone sarcophagus was discovered during the recent exploration of the ruins. It lies with its head to the south and its feet to the north, and was found imbedded in the thickness of the wall, right against the great oven, and in close contact with a couple of drains.

Whoever was interred in such a position had evidently sinned grievously against the rule of his Order, and was buried with the utmost indignity possible to conceive.

Passing southwards from the great hall, we find ourselves once more in the courtyard of the Priory. The south wall is taken up with stables and other offices. Near the gateway is the well, and in close proximity to this is to be found the remains of the bath, now choked

Ingulph, and many another, and even—at least, in the case of Bede—to surpass them.

It was in the much ruder *Scriptorium* attached to the Saxon monastery that the exquisite MS. of the Gospels, known as the “Lindisfarne Gospels” was written about A.D. 700, as has been already described.

This was formerly in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, but is now the property of the nation, and is in the British Museum, *Cott. Lib. Nero D. IV.*

See Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (Ed. 1695), Preface, pp. 78, 81.

up and grass-grown, but the flight of steps leading down to it under an arched doorway still exist.

This is not an unusual feature, though it is not very often discoverable—a very fine one exists at Valle Crucis Abbey—but the mention of it may serve to dispel the mistaken popular notion that the monastic life was inconsistent with personal cleanliness.

Another mistaken notion will also be dispelled by the observation of another striking and interesting feature in these ruins, viz., that the monastic life fostered ignorance and was the foe of education. As a matter of fact, not only was a large part of the time of the monks taken up with study, and the copying and illuminating of manuscripts, such as that uniquely beautiful legacy bequeathed to posterity by the former Saxon monastery already referred to, the “Lindisfarne Gospels,” but they were also the educators of the people, as well as their protectors and almoners.

While the crowd of pilgrims, and travellers, and poor folk was clustering round the great gate to receive alms, and aid, and hospitality, the little ones of the locality were receiving the rudiments of learning in the monastic school; and, indeed, whatever of education there was among the people during the so-called Dark Ages was due to, and fostered by, and emanated from, the monastery. Here, running almost the whole length of the eastern wall of the courtyard, may be seen the remains of the school, with the stone bench on which the children sat to receive instruction still forming part of the wall.

Close by was the threshing-floor, with its pavement still intact, and in the south-eastern corner is a chamber with a heavily-guarded door, which may very well have served for its supposed object, the confinement of refractory brethren.

Along the west wall of the courtyard, between the gate and the main entrance, extended a block of buildings which most probably consisted of store-rooms below, with dormitories and chambers for guests above; and beyond, between the offices already mentioned, viz., the brew-house, bakery, etc., and the southern tower of the west

end of the nave of the church, are the remains of rooms and staircases, which in all probability formed the ground floor of the Prior's lodging. This would be the usual position of the Prior's apartments—as, for example, at Castleacre—and no more likely situation can be found for them here.

In the south-western corner of the chapter-house may be seen a number of tooled stones, portions of mouldings, etc., which have been found in different parts of the ruins, and have been placed there for preservation. These are only noticeable from the fact that several of them contain interesting examples of mason's marks. Among others, you will find the simple Cross, either Latin or St. Andrew's; and also the curious "double M," which is not unknown elsewhere.

Thus we have completed our survey of the remains that Time and the Destroyer have left to us of this most interesting monastic house—interesting, not only from the fascination of the spot, nor from the beauty of its perfect Norman church, but also from the circumstance that its domestic buildings, so long lost under the accumulated rubbish of generations, have at length yielded up their secret, and we are able to judge from their ruins, in which, to the thoughtful mind, "still live their wonted fires," better than we should otherwise have done, and better than we can in most cases do, what the life of a mediæval monastic house was like.

We see the monks dwelling in the midst of their people—no absentee landlords were they—taking an interest in, and having a kindly oversight over, their daily lives. We see them ministering to, and caring for, their humbler neighbours from childhood to old age—teaching them all they knew, both for this life and the next, and ever ready to administer the consolations of our holy religion to the weary, the sick, the wayworn, and the sad. We see them keeping an ever-ready and openhanded hospitality, whether for the king, the noble, and the priest, or the yeoman, the villein, the serf and the pilgrim. We see them, in a word, as a light shining in a dark place, maintaining the sacred flame of knowledge and of religion, amid the barren wastes and stormy seas

of this northern isle, as in many an equally wild and desolate spot elsewhere; and, while we acknowledge that there was much which doubtless needed reform by the time the sixteenth century arrived, we cannot sanction the wanton act of spoliation by which they were dissolved, nor the still more wanton folly which led to the destruction of sacred buildings reared by the piety of our forefathers, and of priceless works of art which can never be replaced.

Lindisfarne Priory came under the first Act, which gave to Henry VIII all the monastic establishments of less than £200 a-year. Its value at the Dissolution was only £48 18s. 11*d.* (Dugdale), £60 5s. 1*d.* (Speed); and it was, accordingly, in the year 1537 that the last Mass was said within its church, and the Prior, Thomas Sparke, accompanied by his monks, went forth to find accommodation in a world colder and more unfeeling than even their own bleak northern skies and wintry seas.

The monastery soon began to fall into ruins. It was used, with all its adjacent buildings, as "the Queene's Majestie's storehouse" (1560); and it was finally unroofed by the Earl of Dunbar, then Lord Warden of the Marches (1613). He took away the lead, the bells, and everything valuable on which he could lay hands. "The ship, with manie persons therein, was drowned and sonke into the sea, even soone after their goinge from the land; where of the wronge doers (if God shall so touch their hearts) may and will make use."

A list of the Priors of Holy Island, from A.D. 1217 to A.D. 1536, is preserved in the Dean and Chapter's Library at Durham, and an inventory of receipts and expenditure was sent annually by them to the parent monastery, the first one dating A.D. 1326, the last A.D. 1536. These inventories are full of interesting items; from them we learn that the income of the Prior would average about £200 per annum, a sum equal to about £2,000 in the present day.

In the Black Gate Museum, at Newcastle, there is to be seen a leaden plate which records the removal and reinterment of three monks from the monk's garden at

Lindisfarne, in the year 1215. It is $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, and the inscription reads as follows :—

ANNO : M : C . C . : XV : TRANS :

LATI : SVNT : ISTI : III : M̃I :

SILVESTER : ROBT' : HELIA :

AB : ORTO : MONACHORUM : HC : LOCUM :

THE CASTLE.

The original foundation of the Castle probably dates from a very early period. It is situated to the east of the town and Priory, on a lofty basaltic rock, about 90 ft. high, dominating the bay, and fronting Bamborough to the south-east. The present structure was probably built between 1539-40. The first public mention of it is in 1550, by Sir Thomas Bowes, as the "Fort of Beblowe," Beblowe being the local name for the hill on which it stands. In 1559 it had a garrison of one captain, two master-gunners, one master's mate, twenty soldiers. In 1646 it was garrisoned by Parliament, and in 1715 an abortive attempt was made to hold it for the Pretender. The garrison now consists of three men. Some of the older fishermen remember sailing their boats completely round the Castle, on the north side of which is now a fine pasture.

The "Onse," the small bay at the east end of the "Heugh," fifty years ago was nearly twice its present size, and boats floated with their cargoes over what is now cultivated land. Such are a few of the changes wrought by wind and tide; but in all essential respects the Island is much the same now as it was in the days of St. Aidan.

At the east end of the "Heugh" are the remains of another small fort, built in 1675, which mounted two guns. St. Cuthbert's Isle (half an acre) is situated at the west end of the "Heugh," about 100 yds. from the shore, and is accessible at low water over a ridge of kelpy stones. Here may be traced the foundation of what was once a cell, 24 ft. long, and 13 ft. broad, the abode for a short time of the Saint, whose name the Island bears.

This must not be confounded with St. Cuthbert's retreat on Farne Island, seven miles to the south-east, and

two miles from Bamborough Castle (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, vol. i, N. S., p. 241, *note*).

A capital account of the Registers and other documents connected with the Parish Church may be found in the same publication, p. 240.

NOTES.

1. (P. 180.)—Sir Walter Scott's description of the Priory in *Marmion* is evidently founded on the following passage from Hutchinson's *History of Durham* (vol. i, p. 29 [1785]): ". The order of the building in this structure is rude and heavy, and most of it in the worst mode of the *Early Saxon* architecture. Mr. Grose says: 'Probably it was the work of different periods, but a great part of it seems very ancient' Speaking of the "Rainbow Arch," Mr. Hutchinson goes on to quote Grose: "'One of the arches yet stands, unloaded with any superstructure, and ornamented with the *dancette* or zigzag moulding much used in *Old Saxon* architecture The chief part of the structure is of a soft red freestone, which yields much to time, and renders the aspect of the building dark and melancholy'" (the italics are ours).

2. (P. 184.)—The church of Norham had been acquired by the see of Lindisfarne, in the episcopate of Egfrid (830-845). Of him, Symeon of Durham says that he was a man of noble birth, and abounding in good works. He brought great possessions to the Church, and built and gave to the see the church of Norham; also Gedworth, and many other portions of land.

3. (P. 185.)—"The building was a miniature Durham" (cf. p. 181. "Lindisfarne is modelled on Durham, not Durham on Lindisfarne"). It must be remembered that the see of Durham is the daughter and successor of the see of Lindisfarne, in the patrimony of St. Cuthbert; but Lindisfarne Priory is the daughter and offshoot of the eleventh-century Norman Durham. As to there being no remains of the former Anglian buildings on the island, I think the words of Symeon of Durham are quite clear:—"The barbarous Danes, coming to the Island of Lindisfarne again (*i.e.*, in or about 876), burned down the church and monastery there, and left that place *a desolate wilderness*. The place continued many ages after in great veneration, though the monastery *was never restored*, by reason of its being exposed to the ravages of all barbarous nations." (The italics here also are ours.)





NOTES ON THE FLEMISH BRASSES IN ENGLAND.¹

BY ANDREW OLIVER, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

(*Read at the Newcastle Congress, 1991.*)



FLEMISH brasses may be distinguished from English by the employment of diapered and canopied backgrounds, which form part of the brass. In English brasses this feature is altogether wanting, and the stone slab, in which the brass is laid, takes the place of the background seen

in the Flemish brasses.

There are three ways in which Flemish brasses are composed:—

1. Those which are made of several plates joined to make one complete brass.
2. Those which are cut out and laid in a slab similar to the English examples.
3. Those which are composed of a single plate.

It will be found that the greater proportion of brasses fall under the first head. Of these there are eight.

Of the second there are but three.

The third includes four, which are single plates of small size.

The examples in this country are few in number, and scattered in various parts. In the North of England, at Newcastle, is the brass of Roger Thornton and wife, 1411. In Yorkshire there are two: at Topcliffe to T. de Topcliffe, 1391, and at Wensley to Simon de Wenslagh,

¹ Palimpsest fragments are *not* included.

1360. In Norfolk there are two : at Lynn to Adam Walsokne and his wife, 1349, and to Robert Braunche and his two wives, 1364. The counties of Notts., Suffolk, and Essex have one each : in the brasses to Alan Fleming at Newark, 1361; John Pounder, Ipswich, 1535; R. Knevynton at Avely, 1370. In the county of Herts there are two : one the splendid Delamare Brass in the Abbey of St. Albans, and the other at North Mimms to T. Horton, both of the date 1360. Middlesex has five : Head of a Bishop or an Abbot, 1360 (British Museum); Louis de Corteville and wife, 1496 (Museum of Geology, Jermyn Street, S.W.); Margaret Saunders, 1529 (Fulham); Andrew Evyngar, 1535 (All Hallows, Barking); Henricus Oskens, 1535 (South Kensington Museum).

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

SIDE-CANOPIES AND SUPER-CANOPIES.

Nearly all the early examples possess these features in addition to the diapered background. The figures stand under canopied and crocketed arches, over which is a super canopy with the Representation of the Soul in the centre (excepting the Delamare Brass, which shows the Saviour enthroned). Angels, with candles, censers, or musical instruments are placed on either side.

The side canopies, which are either single or double, are fitted with the figures of saints in the Delamare, Braunche, Horton, and Thornton Brasses, the two first-named having with them a second figure bearing a scroll. The double canopies in Flemings show civilians as in Walsoknes', where only single canopies are used.

The side and super canopies in the brass of Alan Fleming are of a more elaborate design than the others.

The side canopies are in five compartments, richly gabled and crocketed. The upper portion is made narrower than the other, there is no diaper, and the ground is quite plain. Over the figure is an elaborate single super canopy, carried on three arches, cusped and

crocketed; a groined vault springs from a lower level. The super canopy is attached to the side canopies by delicate flying buttresses.

Thornton's Brass shows a row of monks, in addition to the saints. In Topcliffe's Brass, angels with musical instruments under single canopies are used. The saints' figures are generally some of the Twelve Apostles, with St. Paul; and, in addition, figures are used of saints connected with the persons.

INSCRIPTIONS.

With but one exception in all the large brasses, we find the evangelistic symbols placed at the corners of the brass. In the one example where this feature is omitted, shields bearing the arms of the persons are used.

The inscriptions are also in each instance divided by shields of arms, placed at the centre and at the top and bottom.

The inscription to Adam Walsokne, contrary to the usual custom, commences in the centre of the bottom strip; the top and bottom strips are divided into three portions by small shields. The top ones are too worn to be made out; the bottom shields contain the merchant's mark, which is placed under the male figure, and under the female is a small representation of St. Margaret. At the corners are placed the evangelistic symbols. The inscription:—

"Hic jacet Adam de Walsokne Quondam Burgeus Lenn, qui obiit quinto die mensis junii Dni millesimo tricentessimo quadrigesimo nono . . . Margereta uxor eius in Eleye nata quorum anime per Dei misericordiam in pace requiescant. Amen."

Another legend, in the same character, and facing upwards, is introduced beneath either compartment of the group at the foot of the principal effigies, in two lines of Latin verse:—

"Cum flax, cum limus cum res vilissima simus
Vnde superbimus ad terram terra redimus."

On the outside of the inscription is a border of round and square roses.

The inscription to Robert Braunche and wife is unfinished, the date of his death being the only one given. A shield is placed in the centre of the inscription on either side, bearing the arms of England and France on the right, and those of Braunche "*gules, a cross engrailed or,*" on the left.

"✠ Orate pro animabus Roberti Braunche Leticie et Margarete uxorum ejus et pro omnibus tenentur qui quidem Robertus obiit xv die Octobris anno Domini MCCCXLIII anime eorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant. Amen."

The usual emblems are at the corners.

The inscription to Alan Fleming, in black letter, is as follows :—

"Hic jacet Alanus Fleming, qui obiit anno dm. millio CCCLXI in die Sca. Helena cui aia per deū misericordiam requiescat in pace Amen., Credo quod redempta meus."

Small shields, with the merchants' mark, are on each side and in the centre.

CIVILIANS AND LADIES' BRASSES.

Adam Walsokne and Wife, Lynn, Norfolk, 1349. Robert Braunche and his Wives, Lynn, Norfolk, 1364. Alan Fleming, Newark, Notts., 1361.

All these examples are similar in the design and detail, and in the dress worn. The cape worn by Walsokne has a sleeve with a short lappet falling just below the elbow ; the others have long lappets reaching midway to the knees. Underneath may be seen an under-dress, the tightly-buttoned sleeves terminating in a delicately-embroidered cuff. The figure of Alan Fleming is dressed in a long gown, with long sleeves, reaching midway to the knees. Embroidered pockets are in the front. The feet rest upon a woodman and a beast.

The background upon which the figure is placed is richly diapered. On either side of the inscription there is an elaborate flowing pattern.

The brass used formerly to be on the floor at the east end, behind the high altar. It is now placed on the west wall of the transept, and is secured to the wall by iron clamps.

The ladies' costume consists of a long loose cloak, worn over a richly embroidered dress. The sleeves are tight-fitting, and worked with an elaborate pattern, long lappets falling from the elbows. The upper part of the under-dress of Margaret Braunche is seen, and the wimple under the chin and the plaited hair at the sides of the face. In the other instances the figures are completely enveloped in the cloaks, and a veil or cape is thrown over the head.

Under the heads of the figures are placed cushions, with angels on either side. Animals are placed at the feet of the figures.

On the Braunche Brass there is a representation of the Peacock feast, and in the Walsokne there are pastoral scenes, representing bear-baiting, quarterstaff, riding the stang, etc.

Thomas de Topcliffe, 1391. Topcliffe, Yorks.

The dresses of Thomas de Topcliffe and wife are somewhat different from the foregoing. The man's figure is in a long loose cloak, with furred cuffs, buttoned at the shoulder; a sword is at the side. The wife is dressed in a long gown, and the mitten sleeves of an under-dress are seen. A head-dress is worn, which is plaited at the sides. The man stands on a lion, and the woman on a small dog, with a collar and bells round the neck. The heads rest on cushions, and the background is richly diapered.

The inscription, in black letter, which is mutilated, is as follows:—

“Hic jacet venerabilis . . . topcliff qui obiit an MCCCLXV
quorum anie . . . quondam uxor ejus que obiit anno domini
MCCCXCI quorum anie propicietur deus.”

On either side is a shield with these arms—a chevron between three peg-tops.

PRIESTS' BRASSES.

Thomas Delamare, St. Albans, 1360.

In Ridgway Lloyd's *Altars, Tombs, and Monuments of St. Alban's Abbey* is the following account of this brass:—

"He is represented as wearing the usual abbatical vestments, which were identical with those worn by a bishop, although an abbot had the power of conferring only minor orders, viz., those of ostiary, lector, exorcist, and acolyth. Upon his head is the mitre; his hands, which are crossed, are covered with jewelled gloves, and his feet with embroidered shoes, and he is vested in alb, stole, tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, and maniple; within his left arm is a pastoral staff, with the *Agnus Dei* in the crook, the latter being turned outwards. Above the figure of the abbot is a most beautiful canopy, having the First Person of the Holy Trinity in the centre, with angels swinging censers and others playing musical instruments on each side; beyond these are St. Peter on the left and St. Paul on the right. The canopied shafts contain fourteen figures, seven on each side, those on the left being St. Alban, with processional cross and sword; St. John the Evangelist, with chalice and serpent; St. Andrew, with saltire; St. Thomas the Apostle, with spear; and three secular persons who cannot be identified. The figures on the right are St. Oswyn, king and martyr, with crown and spear, the patron saint of Tynemouth Priory (Delamare was Prior of Tynemouth before being Abbot of St. Albans; the arms of St. Oswyn are on the choir ceiling); St. James the Great, with scallop shell; St. Bartholomew, with flaying knife; St. Philip with loaf; and three more secular persons. At the four angles of the brass are the symbols of the Evangelists (one is now lost), and at each side is a shield having 'on a bend three eagles displayed.' Round the border of the design these words: *Hic Jacet Dominus Thomas quondam Abbas Hujus Monasterii*, a space, which was never filled up, being left for the date of his death."

The brass is now placed in the Whethampstede chantry. It used to lie in front of the high altar, where the slab now remains.

*Head of a Bishop or Abbot, 1360. British Museum.*¹

This fragment has evidently been part of a larger memorial. It consists of the mitred head of a bishop or

¹ Boutell's *Brasses*, 2nd Series, illustration.

abbot, resting on a cushion, which is elaborately worked. Over the left shoulder may be seen the head of the pastoral staff, in the head of which is the *Agnus Dei*, with the flag surrounded by foliage. The lower part of the leaf, which forms the head, is supported by the figure of an angel. Over the head is an elaborate canopy, the centre one containing the figure of the Divine Personage, holding in a cloth the soul of the deceased, on the head of which is a mitre. On either side of this is placed an angel, holding a candle. Next to the angels' figures are the figures of saints, two on each side, those on the left being St. Peter and a saint with a palm branch; and on the right St. Paul and another saint. Between the canopies and the head underneath is a fillet, enriched with a flowing pattern of delicate design. The fragment is in a splendid state of preservation, and contains the original filling in.

Simon de Wenslagh, Wensley, Yorks, 1360. Thomas Horton, North Mimms, Herts, 1360.

Both of these figures are somewhat similar in treatment; they both show the same vestments, and the paten and chalice are placed upon the breast of each; the first named is of large size, and is a splendid example of "line." Under the head is a cushion, which is supported by angels. This feature is omitted in the brass of Thomas Horton. The canopy and super-canopy over Thomas Horton have been described.

There is no background in the first example, and it is lost on the other.

KNIGHTS' BRASS.

Ralph de Knevynton, 1370. Aveley, Essex.

The figure, which stands under a canopy, is bare-headed. A fillet is worn across the forehead. The dagger and sword are suspended by chains. Mail is worn below the belt, the neck, elbows, armpits and

knees. The feet stand on a dog. Beneath is this inscription :—

“ Hic jacet Radulphus de Knevynton Obitus idem ante festu
sei Nicolai episcopi anno dni millm cccclxx Ira dneal f.”

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Roger Thornton, All Saints' Church, Newcastle, 1411.

The Brass of Roger Thornton used to be on an altar tomb. The front was panelled in five compartments, an ogee arch, the upper portion from the spring line being terminated with a light battlement.

The Finial took the form of a Castle, the crest of Thornton.

Plates will be found in Brand's *History of Newcastle*, of both the Tomb and the Brass.

The figure of Roger Thornton is dressed in a long gown, which reaches to the feet, with full deep sleeves, buttoned at the throat, and a strap, from which a sword is suspended, is buckled round the waist. Two dogs are placed under the feet. The wife's figure shows a long sleeveless gown (with a high collar) which covers the feet. The sleeves of an under-dress, buckled round the waist, may be seen at the wrist. On the head is worn a cap with long ends which fall below the shoulders, and below the buttoned collar of the gown is worn a plaited wimple. The heads of the figures are on cushions, which are supported by angels. Each of the figures has below the feet seven light arches, each with the figure of a son or daughter under. The sons' dress consists of a gown with deep sleeves, which reaches below the knee. The collar is loose, and a belt is worn round the waist. The daughters' dress is a loose gown with deep sleeves, secured round the waist by a belt. The hair is worn in plaits at the sides. A similar head-dress may be seen worn by the figure in the representation of the soul in the super-canopy. Beneath these figures is a running pattern similar to that on the outside. Over the principal figures are three pointed arches. The centre arch

is groined, and instead of corbels the arches terminate in small balls. From these arches spring canopied compartments in two tiers, the lower centre compartment of which contains the representation of the soul held in a cloth by angels. In the upper portion the soul is seen placed on the lap of the Divine Personage; angels with candles are placed on either side. The side compartments are similar in each case. In the lower compartment a figure holds a scroll, and angels with candles are on either side. In the upper an angel is placed standing on a pedestal, and playing a musical instrument. Smaller figures are placed below. On either side of the principal figure (and also between them) are niches containing various saints with their emblems. On the side next to Roger Thornton are the following:—An angel, St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist, St. Thomas, St. Matthew, St. Bartholomew, and St. ——. On the side next to the wife, an angel with pot and sprinkler, St. Paul, St. James the Great, St. James the Less, St. Andrew, St. Philip, and St. ——. Between the figures and the inscription is a row of figures in monks' habits. Between the principal figures are the following saints:—The Blessed Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, St. Catharine, St. Barbara, St. Agnes, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Lawrence. The inscription, which wants the usual concluding sentence, is divided by small shields bearing the arms singly, at the sides, and quarterly, at the top and bottom, of Thornton and his wife. The Evangelistic symbols are at the corners. It is as follows:—

“✠ Hic . jacet . domicella . agnes . quondam . uxor . rogeri . thorn-
ton . que . obiit . in vigelia . sancte . katherine . anno . domini .
M.CCCC.XI. propicietur . deus . amen. ✠ Hic jacet rogerus thornton .
meator . novi . castri . super . tinam . qui . obiit . anno . dni . mille-
simo . cccc.xx.ix. iij . die . januarij.”

*Louis de Corteville and Wife, 1496. Museum of
Geology, Jermyn Street.*

It consists of the figures of De Corteville and his wife; their heads lie on cushions, and angels hold shields of arms over. In addition, the knight's shield shows the

crest—"a dog's head couped." Behind the figures is a curtain of tapestry work, which terminates in a deep fringe. The figures are on dogs, and a pavement of chequer-work is under them, which gives a curious appearance. The knight, who is bareheaded, wears plate armour in conjunction with mail, which is seen at the thighs and neck. Upon the elbows and shoulders are seen tags or arming points. In front of the cuirass is placed the lance-rest. The sword, in a rich scabbard, hangs diagonally behind the figure. The dress of the wife consists of a long gown heavily furred, and with a hood over the head.

The shields of arms, placed over the heads of the figures, bear the knight's arms, and the lady's arms impaled with the husband's. At the angles are shields of arms similar to those quartered on the husband's shield, instead of the Evangelist's symbols.

The inscription is in Flemish, and is as follows :—

"Hier licht begraue [shield] Jonevr' Colyne uan Caestre F^a Elyas twijf was uā Lodewijc Cortewille die ouerleet Jnt Jaer xiiij . xevi . den xij^{co} dach [shield] uan Janwe.

"Hier licht begrauen Lodewijc [shield] Cortewille Sciltenape heere uāder Cortewille F^s Mergillis ruddere heere uā Reinghelst die ouerleet Jnt Jaer xvc en [shield] iij . den xx . dach uā Janwe."

Translated, this reads :—

"Here lies buried the young lady, Colyne Van Caestre, daughter of Elyas, who was wife of Lodewijc Cortewille, and died in the year 1496, the 12th day of January.

"Here lies buried Lodewijc Cortewille, Esquire, Lord of Cortewille, son of Mergillis, Knight, Lord of Reinghelst, who died in the year 1504, the 20th day of January."

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

LADY'S BRASS.

Margaret Saunders, 1529. Fulham.

It is stated on p. 99 of Faulkner's "Fulham," that this brass was found in 1770 in digging for the foundation of a pillar (an illustration is also given on the

same page). It is now placed on the east wall of the south aisle.

The brass consists of a half effigy dressed in a veil, marked with a cross, and with a cloth passing under the chin. Beneath the half effigy is this inscription, and on either side is placed an angel :—

“Hic jacet domicella Margareta Suanders nata Gandavi Flandrie que ex magistro Gerardo Hornebolt Gandavensi Pictore nominatissimo peperit domicellam Susannam uxore magistri Johannis Parker Archarii Regis, que obiit Anno Dni MCCCCXXIX xxvi Novēbris orate p' aia.”

Beneath this inscription is placed a shield of arms.

PRIEST'S BRASS.

Henricus Oskens, 1535. South Kensington Museum. (It was originally at Nippes, Cologne.)

It represents Henricus Oskens kneeling between St. Peter and the Emperor St. Henry, his Patron Saint. St. Peter holds in his hand one key, that of Heaven. Saint Henry is shown crowned, and wearing a cloak over a suit of armour. In the right hand is held an orb surmounted by a cross, and in the left is a sword. Both saints are nimbed. Between Oskens and St. Peter is a shield of arms, suspended from a vase bearing “party per fess in chief paly an ox statant,” probably a rebus on the name. The figure of Oskens, who is kneeling, is in a long loose gown, the hands upwards. On the head may be seen the tonsure. At the foot of the brass is this inscription :—

“Me fieri fecit Henricus Oskens Cantor et Canonicus hujus Ecclesie dum viveret orate pro eo Obiit autem anno domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Trescento quinto die ven ultimo novembris.”

“Henry Oskens Cantor and Canon of this church had me made whilst he lived, pray for him, he died in the year of our Lord a thousand five hundred and thirty-five the very last day of November.”

In the background is placed the Blessed Virgin and Child, surrounded by an aureole. The Holy Child grasps a small Tau cross. The Virgin stands on an inverted

crescent. On either side are placed columns which support a small entablature; on the upper mouldings of the bases of the columns are placed small thin shafts, which run up the whole height and carry a very flat arch, in front of which is seen a canopy, the details of which resemble branches of trees twisted in an eccentric manner, the bosses terminating in bunches of flowers.

CIVILIANS' BRASSES.

*Thomas Pounder, 1535. St. Mary Quay,
Ipswich.*

The figures are placed underneath a canopy of late and flat character, carried on square columns of a heavy design. In the centre, just over the figures, is a shield which bears the merchants' mark. On either side, and next to the marginal inscription, are two more shields; that on the side next to the male effigy bears the arms of Ipswich, and that on the corresponding side the arms of the Merchant Adventurers: "Barry nebulee of six, *argent* and *azure*, a chief quarterly, 1st and 4th *gules*, a lion passant *or*; 2nd and 3rd *or*, two roses *gules*."

The figure of Thomas Pounder is shown wearing a heavy cloak, with wide sleeves open at the elbow, through which the lower part of the arm projects, displaying the sleeves of the under-dress.

The wife wears a tight-fitting dress, over which is worn a heavy cloak. The sleeves are thrown back, disclosing the cuffs of the dress underneath. A rosary, attached to the centre of a belt, is worn round the waist, hanging down in front of the figure; on the head is worn a high-peaked cap, with long trailing ends. The sons are both differently dressed.

The one nearest to the centre wears a long cloak, and the other is in a tight-fitting jacket, with puffed and slashed skirts and trunk hose; a bag is hung round the waist. The daughters wear netted caps, with long hanging bands falling on the shoulders.

The inscription (in which the date of the wife's death is not filled in) is as follows:—

"Here lieth beried Thomas Pounder Marchauns and sometime balie of Ipswiche whiche departed in the yere m^{cc}xxx yeris and vii day of Novebyr and Emme Pounder his wife which departed in the yere m^{cvc}."

*Andrew Evingar, 1535. All Hallows,
Barking.*

This brass is inlaid in a slab, round which is an incised marginal inscription. The left side of the slab has been destroyed, together with the sentence. Traces may be seen of the Evangelistic symbols.

It consists of the figures of Evingar, his wife, son and daughters, standing under a canopy of pointed arches, which spring from side-shafts. In the centre, on a throne or a chair, is placed a *pictâ*, supported underneath by a corbel. The background is richly diapered. The figures of the personages commemorated stand on a tessellated pavement, and are turned the one towards the other. Scrolls, bearing sentences, issue from the mouths of Evingar and his wife, invoking each of the divine personages placed above them. That from the man bears the words: "O filii dei miserere mei;" that from the lady: "O mater dei memento mei." The figure of Evingar is dressed in a long loose gown, with deep full sleeves, under which is worn an undergarment; the feet are in broad-toed shoes. The wife's figure is draped in a long mantle, with long gauntlet-cuffs at the wrists. Round the waist is a broad ornamented belt, with a large round buckle, from which hangs a rosary, which terminates in a tassel; a large plain hood is worn over the head. The son's dress is similar to that worn by his father, excepting the sleeves, which, in this case, fit close. The five daughters are placed at the side of the mother, in three rows. The two in the front row wear a dress similar to the lady's, except that the belt and rosary are omitted, their place being taken by a crossed girdle. Of the other figures only the head-dress, which is similar to that worn by the others, is shown.

The arms of the Merchant Adventurers' Company (as in the brass of Thomas Pounder, *ante*) and of the Salters'

Company : Per chevron, *azure* and *gules*, three sprinkling salts, argent (owing to an engraver's error the chevron is shown reversed), are placed at the top of the brass, the first-named on the right and the second on the left. The merchants' mark is borne on a shield placed between the principal figures. At the bottom of the brass all that remains of the inscription is:—

“Of Andrew Evyngar Cyteze, and salter of London and Ellyn hys. . . .”





THE UNDERGROUND STRONG-ROOM AT RICHBOROUGH.

BY A. R. GODDARD, ESQ., B.A.

(Continued from p. 114.)

II.



It is necessary to recall, in the light of history, something of the local causes which led to the end of the Roman occupation, when the streets of Rutupiae for the last time rattled with the arms of the soldiery.

(1.) Tacitus¹ tells us that in the earlier days of the Roman Empire, the legions occupied strategic positions as fixed garrisons all over the Roman world, but that the auxiliaries, drawn from various subject races, whose strength doubled the effective of the army, were moved from place to place as occasion required. We also learn from Dion Cassius² that the soldiers of the legions were forbidden to marry.

Somewhere about the year 120, the Emperor Hadrian seems to have made an important departure from former Roman custom, when he set down a large military population recruited from numerous races under Imperial rule, along the line of his chain of strongholds from Tyne to Solway, and up and down the country in many a scattered garrison.³ Already, in the days of Claudius,

¹ *Annals*, vol. iv, p. 5.

² *Dion Cas.*, vol. lx, p. 24.

³ The "*Tabulae honestae missionis*" also granted the citizenship and right of marriage to the veterans of practically all the auxiliary forces serving in Britain, and legitimised such marriages as had already taken place, so long as the men did not go beyond one wife apiece.

eighty years before, the Second Legion had been posted at Isca Silurum (Caerleon), and the Twentieth at Deva (Chester). Hadrian also brought in the Sixth Legion, which he set down at York. These three legions had their home in Britain almost to the end; although the Twentieth was withdrawn in time to fight in Stilicho's campaign against Alaric, and the Second, or a fragment of it, was removed from Isca to our castrum at Rutupiae to guard this corner of the Saxon shore.

These foreign settlers, then, whether legionaries or auxiliaries, must in time have formed colonies, in our modern sense, throughout the length and breadth of Britain. Hardy horsemen from the north of Spain, and men from Portugal; various contingents of Gallic blood, and of the fair-haired Germanic stock; inhabitants of the marshes and fens of Holland, and Alpine mountaineers; men from round about the Danube, and from the borders of the Adriatic; Dacii, with their caps of freedom, and the hill-folk of Thrace; dark-skinned Moors from northern Africa and Arabs from Palestine; as well as Roman citizens from all parts of Italy, were drafted off to guard and populate this island. And where they were quartered there they stayed, for unbroken centuries, as we learn from the *Notitia* of Stilicho's time, and from the silent witness of innumerable inscriptions.

The children and grandchildren and descendants of the original Asturii and Dacii who had settled at Cilurnum and Amboglanna would look upon the rolling Northumbrian moors as their native heath; and the same naturalising influences must have been at work in all the varying quarters and climates of the country. Nor is it likely, after the earlier years of the occupation, that a continual system of recruiting from the original haunts of the multi-racial troops can have been successfully maintained, so that the detachments must have kept up their strength by drawing on material nearer to hand. In the course of time, these local attachments would deepen and strengthen, while the long arm of Rome was suffering a slow paralysis.

On this site of Rutupiae not a single inscription of any kind has come to light. It is only on the coinage

that we can trace the succession of the Emperors of Rome, and at Richborough these continue up to the last.

(II.) During this period of Roman decay we have evidence that the British troops were standing more and more for, and by themselves, in a succession of risings under popular leaders of their own choice. The first of these took place under Carausius, that strong admiral of the fleet on the Saxon shore, who, after crushing the Saxon pirates, won for himself the over-lordship of Britain for the seven years ending 293, even extorting recognition as co-emperor from Diocletian and Maximian, his "brothers," as he calls them on his coins. Allectus, his assassin, held Britain independent for three years longer, until he fell before Constantius, who, with new forces, entered to reclaim the island for Rome. This general's son, Constantine, afterwards the Great, made his home in Britain, and attached both the stationary troops and the new forces to his own person, so that when his father died at York in 307, he assumed imperial authority, and went forth from the island to win the eventual rule of the empire. The great numbers of his coins which everywhere abound provide eloquent proof of his power in the province.

After his time, insurrectionary troubles were frequent; while the savage raiders from the North swept down in constant foray, and the Saxon pirates were waxing bolder in the South. The great soldier Theodosius restored a temporary calm; but he found the people and even some of the troops very restive; and when his son came to the throne, another successful leader, Maximus Magnus, the "*latro Rutupinus*," again severed Britain, and this time Gaul and Spain too, from the Roman authority. His rule lasted from 383 to 388, when, in attempting to occupy Italy also, he was crushed at Aquileia. The old connection was patched up for a season, but the end was near. As Fuller says: "The Roman empire, now grown ruinous, could not repair its outrooms."

Theodosius the Emperor did not hand down his energy and capacity to his son, Honorius, who was fated to be

the last lord of Rome even to pretend to the ancient dominion of Britain.

(III.) This survey leads us up to what might be called "The Last Days of Rutupiae." The British troops, so far from being at the orders of Honorius, in 407 again rose on their own account, and ended by choosing a man of the auspicious name of Constantine as their Emperor. At this crisis the forces in Britain finally mobilised to go adventuring under the man of their own choice. Those were eventful weeks during which the Romano-British legions and auxiliaries were successively converging upon this famous port, for service out of the land in which they had been stationed for centuries. It was the land of their birth, and of their fathers before them, for long generations back—the only land most of them had ever known. When the fighting was over they might come home again—some of them—who knows? What should they take with them, and what leave behind? Had they or their leaders any little matters of value that would only encumber them when they went to the war: such as bronze tablets, spare standards, duplicate suits of armour, or even private valuables, such as gems or spare moneys? What would become of the old castrum, soon to be left bare to all-comers? Would the civil officials remain, or did they propose to remove to some other part of the country, less open to attack by Saxon rovers? Such questions as these must have been hotly discussed in the military messes and social circles of the time. Until a day would come, with much blowing of bugles and general excitement, when, through crowds of townsfolk, the soldiers marched down to the quays in full battle harness and with great store of impedimenta. There they ranged themselves in the galleys, with their standards and their officers. As they leave the shore, the sound of their voices comes fainter and fainter over the increasing interval; and at last the galleys, one by one, round the corner of the long breakwater and pass from sight; and then, what is there left for the crowds but to break up and go home in a brooding awe of emptiness and silence? Perhaps on succeeding days the townsfolk roam at large through the deserted castrum. Perhaps,

too, some of their children lived to a good old age to tell the story to their grandsons and to flaxen-haired Saxon boys standing by, of the last they saw of the eagles of Rome.

And so they left, and leaving, relinquished to those that should come after them that great mysterious building in the heart of the hill, so closely sealed up, that now, fifteen hundred years afterwards, we know neither what it is nor what it may contain.

We *do* know how the Saxons accounted for the absence of the treasure they expected to find, but evidently did not find, in the rich and prosperous land they conquered and overwhelmed. "In this year," reads an entry in the *Saxon Chronicle*,¹ collated in King Alfred's time from earlier records, "the Romans gathered up all the gold-hoards that were in Britain; some in the earth they hid, that no man might afterwards find them; some they carried with them into Gaul." It is true that they make the year to be 418, but that is a detail. The labourer's careless plough and the antiquary's studious search have abundantly confirmed what might have seemed mere conjecture on the part of the old Saxon chroniclers, and, curiously enough, some highly interesting Roman finds have been connected with water. Dr. Bruce was an eye-witness of the discovery of the long-lost well at Procolitia, where, covered up by great stones from the wall of the station, lay the contents of the garrison treasure-chests, amounting to sixteen thousand coins, emptied into the well and carefully concealed, in some hour of storm and stress. And does not White of Selborne speak of Wolmer Lake in his parish, which one year ran dry, disclosing great quantities of Roman money, piled up as though it had been contained in a sack.

Even if the subterranean building at Richborough were originally a piscina, the water might easily have been drawn off, and any upper openings filled in with concrete, and then paved to make the blind the more perfect.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls Ser., text, p. 18; trans., p. 10.—Thorpe.

Archaeologists do not prospect for mere treasure. They delve after antiquities, after relics of long-past life ; but even in this aspect of the matter, surely the problem of Richborough is worthy of a very determined effort to solve it. Passages may easily be cut through the soft sand from the lowest levels, to prove whether or no there are galleries leading towards the sea, or channels or pipes for the supply of water. Vigorous efforts, too, to pierce the probable vaults, from the cuttings already made, by sideways or sloping borings, are not beyond the power of this age of scientific engineering ; while it must not be forgotten that the concrete strips on the surface are practically untested.

Nothing that has so far been done can be said to have any finality about it, and results may await further research more remarkable than any known in recent times.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21st, 1902.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

Rev. J. A Penny, M.A., Wispington Vicarage, Horncastle.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the Brussels Archæological Society for "Proceedings," 1901, Parts 3 and 4.
„ Society of Antiquaries of St. Omer for "Proceedings," 1901, Part 3.
„ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," vol. xxxii, Part 1, 1902.
„ Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors, for "Transactions," vol. xxi, 1901.
„ Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Journal," vol. xxiv, 1902.
„ Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," April, 1902.
„ Smithsonian Institution for "Contributions to Knowledge," Hodgkins' Fund, 1901.
„ Society of Antiquaries of London for "Archæologia," vol. lvii, Part 2 ; and "Proceedings," vol. xviii, Part 2, New Series.

Dr. Winstone exhibited a fine copy of a small octavo book, bound in parchment, of the sixteenth century, on Agriculture, of which he read the following description :—

"The very careful way in which the early books were printed has been noticed by writers, and the book now exhibited justifies the remark.

"It is a treatise on Agriculture, entitled *Rei Rustica Libri quatuor*.

It was printed in 1573 at Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) by the widow of Joannes Birekmann, in Roman type, and the preface and side-notes in Italian type. The letters are sharp and clear, and there is a uniformity of colour of each page of the book very often wanting in modern books and publications.

"Printing had made rapid progress. One of the very earliest books printed in metal (moveable) type appeared in Haarlem in 1440. About 1450 the Mentz Bible was printed, and a Psalter in 1457. Caxton appeared in England in 1474, and it is stated that by the year 1500 printing offices had been established in several European cities, the total number of printing offices being estimated to have numbered two hundred and twenty.

"The earlier books were printed in Black-letter, or Old English (still used in Germany). Roman, *i.e.* modern type, originated in Rome (hence its name), and appeared in 1467, and the Italian type (or Script) in Venice in 1496; so that there had been ample time for the introduction of the different types into the printing offices established in various cities, and for the pressmen to become skilled workmen."

A Paper by Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., entitled "Buried Treasure: some Traditions, Records, and Facts," was read, in the author's absence, by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, and will be published.

The Chairman, the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Mr. Rayson, and others, joined in the discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4TH, 1902.

Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White exhibited antiquities, and said that the ancient Aldreth bridge, that formerly spanned the old West River connecting Cambridgeshire with the Isle of Ely, is being rebuilt after a period of long decay which led to ultimate extinction. The excavations have brought to light the piles upon which the original bridge was probably built, with ponderous pieces of undressed timber, and two immense oak beams upon which the structure was mainly carried. The much-corroded blade of a short iron sword (certainly not later than Norman date), an adze, and other like implements, have been found 4 or 5 ft. below the surface of the river bank by the site of the bridge. Mr. Evelyn-White exhibited oxidized portions of a dagger, with part of the wood handle adhering; what appears to be an awl or "pricker" encased in iron (which may belong to the Anglo-Saxon period), and two horseshoes (Norman), one fancifully scalloped, the shoes being considerably narrower on the one side than on the

other. Fragments of ironwork used in the construction of an early bridge were also shown. Of the animal remains that have been found Mr. Evelyn-White exhibited some remarkably fine specimens, including the tusk of a boar, and teeth, possibly of some extinct species, so blackened by contact with the fen peat as to resemble jet. Some examples of extinct freshwater shells, which were found in abundance, were also shown, together with some interesting fragments of Romano-British and later pottery. The Aldreth bridge is famed in history by Hereward's resistance to the Conqueror, and by the passage of King Stephen, who resisted the Bishop of Ely when he espoused the cause of Matilda.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley exhibited some palæolithic flint chippings and pieces of bone, hollowed out, from the caves of La Madeleine, France; also some good specimens of the crown and half-crown pieces of William III., and a book dated 1723, "Memoirs of the Antiquities of Great Britain," with interesting engravings. Mr. Astley also contributed a Paper on "Tree Worship: its Ancient Rites and Modern Survivals, particularly in the British Islands." The writer co-ordinated the various branches of the subject, and from customs, particularly those connected with May-Day and kindred rites, which still survive within our islands, although in a mutilated form, endeavoured to deduce the origin and meaning of "tree worship" in the past. The researches of Mannhardt, Bötticher, Prof. Tylor, Dr. Arthur Evans, Dr. Phené, and especially Dr. Frazer's monumental work, *The Golden Bough*, were adduced to show the vast store of facts from all parts of the world, which prove the universal prevalence of "tree worship" amongst primitive peoples in all ages.

The conclusion arrived at by the writer was that tree worship has its origin in the mystic past of our race, and may be derived from at least Neolithic days. Mr. Astley brought an interesting Paper to a close with an earnest plea for the establishment of an "Arbor Day" as an annual festival, national and universal, for the planting of trees, and suggested that the day of the coronation of King Edward VII would be a most suitable date, and he commended the idea to the already existing Arbor Day Society. Trees are no longer worshipped, and we do not wish for the pagan associations which seem to be revived in the new national festival, of similar character, in Italy; but it is certainly essential to devise some plan that may prevent further denudation of our woods and forests.

In the discussion which followed the Paper, Mr. Gould, Mr. Compton, the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, Mr. Williams, Mr. C. R. B. Barrett, Mr. Lyttelton, and others took part.

Mr. Worsfold mentioned that trees were worshipped in Britany as late as the seventeenth century, and even now in Devonshire the people invoke blessings upon the apple trees; while the Chairman observed that he thought the origin of tree worship might perhaps be sought in the facts of the evolution of the human race, and this would also explain the origin of that horror of the serpent, which by an easily explicable transition turned to serpent-worship. The earliest human beings were arboreal, and, therefore, free from the attacks of carnivorous animals, but exposed to those of serpents. They therefore transmitted to their descendants the instinct to worship that which sheltered them, and also that of which they were afraid.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH, 1902.

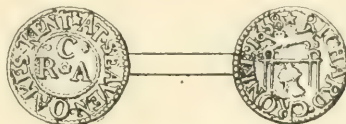
Dr. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

- To the Kent Archæological Society, for "Archæologia Cantiana,"*
vol. xxv.
- .. Smithsonian Institution, for "Kathlamet Texts," by Franz Boas, 1901.
- .. Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report," 1900.
- .. Smithsonian Institution, for "Index to the Literature of the Spectroscopy," 1900.
- .. Smithsonian Institution, for "Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Science," 1899-1900, and various.
- .. Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Magazine," No. 97, vol. xxxii, 1902.
- .. Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Abstracts of the Inquisitions, p.m., relating to Wilts," Part I.
- .. Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," Parts VI-X, XI-XV, XVI-XX, vol. ix.
- .. Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Kalendar," 1902-1903.
- .. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for "Transactions," Part II, vol. xxiv, 1901.
- .. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," Parts II and III, vol. xxxii.
- .. Royal Archæological Institute, for "Journal," vol. lix, No. 234, 1902.

- To the* Cambrian Archaeological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," June 1902.
 ,, Essex Archaeological Society for "Transactions," vol. viii, Part iv, 1902.
 ,, Chas. Rössler, for "Les Influences Celtiques," 1901.
 ,, Brussels Archaeological Society, for "Annales," Parts I and II, 1902.
 ,, East Herts Archaeological Society, for "Transactions," vol. i, Part III.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley exhibited a silver token, the size of a threepenny piece, which was picked up at East Rudham, Norfolk, recently. The token bears upon the obverse "Richard Cronke, 1658," with heraldic lion and a bag or pouch, probably of the Merchant Taylors' Company, in the centre; on the reverse, "At Seven Oakes, Kent," and the letters R^C A in the centre. Mr. Astley also exhibited a photograph of the old porch of Braizeworth Church, near Eye, in Suffolk, having curious and unusual Norman details.



Mr. Patrick was of opinion, from careful examination of the photograph, that, although the details of the ornamentation were of semi-Norman character, they did not all form a part of the original design of the porch, which was the result of a rebuilding at some period when architectural fragments from other places had been worked in.

Mr. Robins exhibited, through Mr. Astley, the photograph of a Roman sepulchral cinerary urn, which was discovered in a broken condition in a labourer's cottage at Brentwood, in Essex. The urn is of yellow Siena marble, and of very beautiful workmanship; it has been carefully repaired, and is now in excellent condition. For several centuries it is thought to have been preserved at Myddleton Hall, Shenfield, near Brentwood. It bears the imperial wreath and an inscription, partly obliterated, which reads: "DIS . MANIBVS . QVINT . FABI . FELIC . CONS." This inscription has been interpreted in several ways. The simplest seems to be: "To the memory of Quintus Fabius Felix, Consul." Mr. Gould expressed the opinion of the meeting by saying that the urn was evidently of Italian workmanship, and had probably been brought over by some traveller in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

An interesting paper on "Oatlands in Weybridge," was read by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, which it is hoped to publish.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1902.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Herbert Shoppee, Esq., 22, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.

Geo. A. Hall, Esq., 1, Victoria Street, S.W.

Arthur Wilcock, Esq., 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

Frank S. Mumford, Esq., 10, Mountfield Gardens, Tunbridge Wells.

The Sub-Treasurer announced that the following donations had been received towards the clearing off the debit balance of 1901, £59 2s. 2d., in response to an appeal in the last number of the *Journal*; further contributions for the same object are solicited :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
C. J. Williams, Esq. ...	5	0	0	R. Horsfall, Esq. ...	2	0	0
J. W. Previté, Esq. ...	5	0	0	S. Rayson, Esq. ...	1	0	0
R. H. Wood, Esq., F.S.A.	5	0	0	Mrs. Collier ...	0	10	6

Mr. R. A. Goddard exhibited some fine photographs of an ancient manor house at Netherstead, in Bedfordshire, and stated that the house had only recently been pulled down; it had long been without a tenant, owing to its lonely situation, and was rapidly falling into ruin. It possessed several very interesting features, and dated from the time of Henry VIII, being a typical example of what a Spanish visitor to the King's Court called a house of "sticks and dirt," otherwise wattle and daub. The house had three fine chimneystacks of red brick, and was roofed with red tiles. The walls consisted of clay daub, 3 in. thick, just as it came from the fields, with all the pebbles in it, mixed with straw, and laid on to broad ragged oaken laths. The exterior plaster coat was pricked all over with a pointed tool, and the total thickness of wall was about 6 in. The house, garden and orchard were surrounded by an oblong moat, and a small curtilage at the rear of the house was enclosed by a rampart and ditch. The chief interest of the interior of the house was the exceeding richness of the plaster decorations and finishings, the ceilings of the principal rooms having square and circular panels surrounded by delicate mouldings, and enriched with floral designs worked on the flat. A quaint plaster relief on the overmantel of one room represented a sleeping man under an apple-tree, with a dozen monkeys sporting about him. Another relief, which had been on the ceiling of the staircase, is extremely well modelled, and is of an ambitious character, both in style and subject. It shows a king, with crown and sceptre, in a two-wheeled chariot, driving two

winged horses over the hills of earth, and above a lady is being borne away in a four-wheeled chariot on clouds, while from the hilltops adoring figures watch her ascent. At the right Venus sits, and a small Cupid in front of her is directing an arrow at the heart of the solitary king. This relief might be a veiled reference, in the spirit of the times, to the death of Anne Boleyn, and the action of the Cupid an allusion to Henry's philandering with Jane Seymour. As the Boleyns owned Luton Hoo, in this county, it is possible that the Braybrooke family of Netherstead may have been intimate with them, and hence the allegory. These relics, the ceilings, the reliefs, and much fine moulded red-pine wainscot, have fallen into appreciative hands, and are now in the house of Mr. S. W. Addington, of Eaton Ford.

Mr. Compton exhibited a bronze figure of the Indian ape-god Hanuman, 5 in. in height, which was found in a clay bed, 2 ft. 6 in. below the surface, about three yards from the mouth of the Itchen, near Southampton. There is nothing to indicate its date, but it is probably about a hundred years old.

Mr. Patrick read, on behalf of the Rev. W. S. Lach Szyrma, a short paper dealing with the Great Forest of Essex.

In the discussion following, Dr. Birch, Mr. Cheney, Mr. Rayson, and Mr. Goddard took part; and Mr. Gould drew attention to the great scheme for the reconstruction of Hainault Forest which has recently been placed before the public by Mr. E. North Buxton, and is described at length in a valuable article in the *Nineteenth Century* for August.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3RD, 1902.

MR. C. H. COMPTON, V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library:—

To the Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," October, 1902.

„ Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal," September, 1902.

„ Dr. A. C. Fryer for "Aidan, the Apostle of England."

„ The Sussex Archæological Society for "Collections," vol. xlv, 1902.

Mr. P. Scott exhibited some antique vessels of hard pewter, comprising two basins, such as were used by surgeons as bleeding basins, having upon them the trade-marks of the makers, $\frac{1}{DE}$ and WE. He also

exhibited a pewter pint pot with a lid, resembling in form the glass beer cups now in use in Germany, and two small standard vessels, probably salt-cellar.

The Chairman exhibited a specimen of the horn of a *Bos longifrons*, which was dug out of the bottom of a peat pit at Wardhouse, near Kinnethmont, in Aberdeenshire. The surface of the pit was 600 ft. above the sea level.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley read some further notes on the Langbank Crannog, with illustrations, which will be published. He still thought the original construction of this crannog, as well as Dumbuck, might be assigned to a people in the "Neolithic stage of culture;" though the actual period of construction, from various indications, would probably fall within the Iron Age, during or towards the close of the Roman occupation of Britain.

An interesting Paper was read by Mr. Alfred D. Cheney upon "Richard Masters, M.A., Rector of Aldington, Kent, 1514-1558." The Paper was illustrated by several capital photographs, and will be published.

In the discussion following the Papers, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Cheney, the Chairman, and others took part; and Mr. C. J. Williams remarked, with reference to the illustrations of the "finds" at Langbank, that recently he had seen in the Museum at Vienna examples of the Halstadt period, with markings of similar character to those indicated in the sketches exhibited.

Mr. Patrick drew attention to information he had received from various correspondents relative to the threatened destruction of ancient buildings—amongst others, the old parsonage-house at Eastbourne. Some fears were expressed that the proposal of the Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings, to extend the buildings of the Patent Office, would seriously interfere with, if not endanger, Staple Inn and the fine examples of ancient domestic architecture fronting Holborn: a matter of great concern to archæologists.

Another correspondent drew attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the moat of the ancient castle of Nunney, in Somersetshire, the exterior of the castle itself being in fairly good condition.

The Chairman drew attention to the recent discovery of another Roman villa in Dorsetshire, of which it is hoped to lay a full account before the Association.

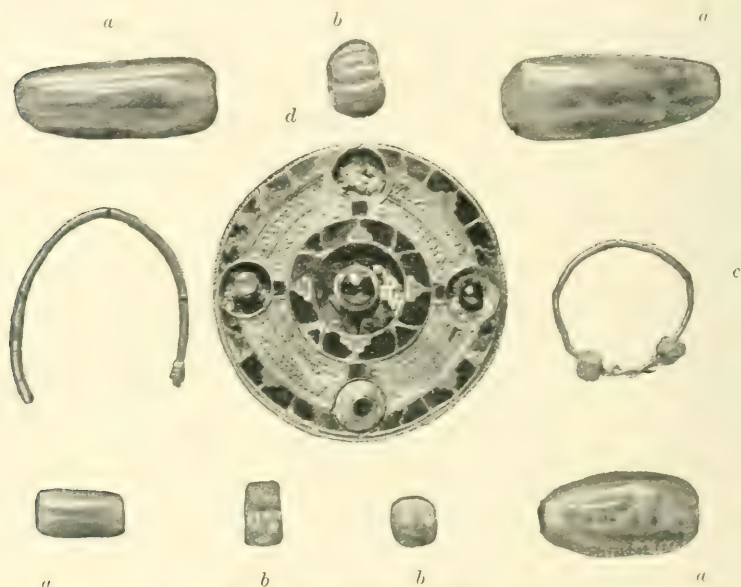




Antiquarian Intelligence.

Social England. Edited by the late H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L., and J. S. MANN, M.A. Vols. i and ii of the new edition, containing numerous maps and illustrations (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd.—Vol. i, 1901, 12s. nett; vol. ii, 1902, 14s. nett).—This is an age, pre-eminently, when it has become necessary to survey the field of knowledge, and to co-ordinate and, as far as possible, bring within our view all that may be known in any department of it. It was with this object that the late Dr. Traill, some nine years ago, set himself to organise a history of *Social England*, as distinct from England considered as a Polity or as a State among States. His introduction to the work contains, in some fifty pages, a most admirable survey of the subject; and, in language at once terse and brilliant, sets before the reader such a summary of the leading characteristics of the national life during the long centuries of its development as bespeaks the hand of the master, and only makes him regret the more that the great writer should have been called away before he had an opportunity of seeing his idea clothed in its present sumptuous guise. Dr. Traill thus described his own purpose as editor, and that of the band of specialists who co-operated with him: “to *abstract* from the political, and to *isolate* the social facts of our history;” to deal as concisely as possible with wars and treaties, and dynastic struggles, “but to treat at length of the various stages of our English civilisation . . . to dwell mainly on such matters as the growth and economic movements of the population, the progressive expansion of industry and commerce, the gradual spread of education, the advance of arts and sciences, the steady diffusion, in short, of all the refining influences which make for the ‘human life.’” How well this purpose was carried out is evidenced by the fact that, from the moment of the publication of the first edition, the work was accepted as the recognised authority on the subject. Some alterations, however have, been necessitated since that first issue, by the growth of historical knowledge during the intervening years; and an attempt has also been

made in this edition to reduce to a minimum the divergencies of opinion inevitably incidental to a work in which a number of independent writers take part. The sections dealing with the military history, for the most part contributed by Professor Oman, and those relating to the art of Roman Britain by Mr. Haverfield—an unquestioned authority—have been entirely re-written. Mr. Mann, upon whose shoulders Dr. Traill's mantle has fallen, has himself re-written his articles on "Social Life and Manners;" and there is an entirely new section—and one that is of peculiar interest—from the pen of Mr. Joseph Jacobs, on "The Jews in England."



OLD ENGLISH ORNAMENTS FOUND AT DOVER (British Museum).

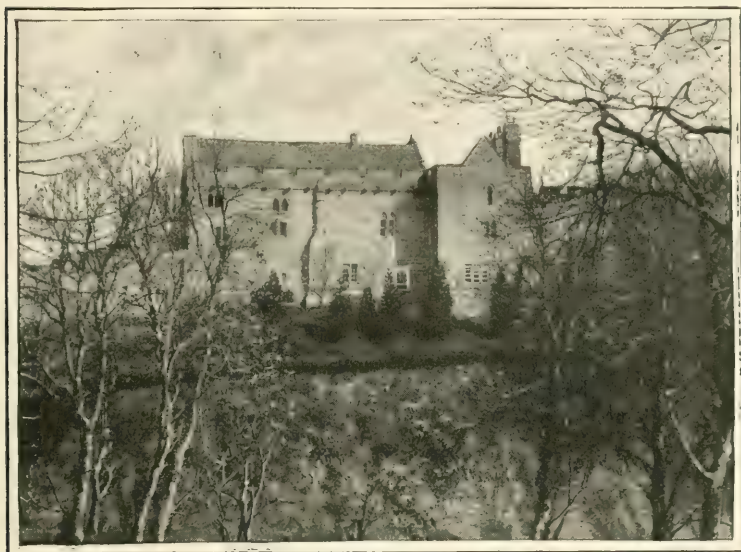
a Amethyst beads ; *b*. Earthen beads ; *c*, Metal rings ; *d*, Brooch, with gold filigree and garnets.

(Block lent by the Publishers.)

The volumes under review are the first two of the six volumes of which the new illustrated edition is to consist, and in this form we may say at once that, in our opinion, the value of the work is immeasurably enhanced. Under the capable superintendence of Mr. Mann, and by the public spirit of the publishers, who have spared no expense on an outlay which one would think it almost impossible to recoup even out of the large sale which we hope the book will have, the illustrations will number in all some 2,500 plates, maps, and figures. These are drawn from every conceivable source, and are reproduced in

the highest style of modern art. The coloured plates, such as that of Romano-British Ornaments (vol. i), or the Head-dresses of the Fifteenth Century (vol. ii), are simply masterpieces of pictorial reproduction.

Where all are excellent it is almost impossible to specify. The present volumes carry forward the story of the social progress of England from the earliest times down to the end of the reign of Henry VII; and whether it be the representations of antiquities from prehistoric barrows, and of British, Roman, and Saxon jewellery, to those of mediæval dress and armour; or views of dwellings, from the



AYDON HALL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

"A border house carefully fortified."

(Block lent by the Publishers.)

British village, Roman villa, or Saxon homestead to the mediæval castle and moated grange; or quaint pages from the Luttrell Psalter, the "*Biblia Pauperum*," and other MSS. and early printed books; or pictures of cathedrals and churches, extending over the whole period of the growth of Gothic art in England and before; or architectural details; each and all are faultlessly reproduced, and help to a better understanding of the text. We can imagine no more delightful relaxation for a busy man who wishes to refresh his memory of English history, than to turn over these pages and examine this veritable "art gallery," which is fully described in some forty pages of catalogue at the commencement of each volume.

In noticing the present edition of this monumental work, it is not our province to criticise the views of the writers on the various subjects entrusted to them. It is as a work of art that we notice it here, and as such we accord it, as will be seen, the highest praise; but we may say that as a record of facts the text is unrivalled for accuracy, and that the opinions of the writers are founded on judgment and discrimination, and are, for the most part, such as we can agree with. It is needless to say that the style throughout is eminently lucid and readable, and whoever will take the trouble to master these well-ordered narratives of *Social England* will find himself not only wiser in the sense of the acquisition of knowledge, but also in the realisation of the ever-advancing greatness of the nation whose progress is therein described.

Without exaggeration, we would say that these volumes deserve a place not only in every public library, or on the bookshelves of the wealthy, but in every intellectual English home throughout the Empire; and we have a good hope that this will be the lot of this most attractive repository of British archaeological lore. It is the more possible as the work is being published in serial parts, concurrently with the present issue.

By the courtesy of the publishers, we are enabled to reproduce a couple of the illustrations herewith. We must not omit to mention that a good and useful index is provided with each volume.

The Care of Books. An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the end of the Eighteenth Century. By J. WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1901. 18s. net).—"I propose in the following essay," says Mr. Clark, "to trace the methods adopted by man in different ages and countries to preserve, to use, and to make accessible to others, those objects, of whatever material, on which he has recorded his thoughts;" and the present substantial volume of over 300 pages, royal 8vo, with more than 150 illustrations, testifies to the care and skill with which he has accomplished his task. It is not with books, as books—neither with their authors nor their subject-matter—that Mr. Clark deals, but with books as "things to be taken care of;" and, as such, he has contrived to invest what might easily have become a dry dissertation with a living human interest, which keeps the reader enchained—as books once were to their shelves—from the first page to the last.

The story is an entrancing one, for it tells of man's continually improving methods of preserving, and transmitting to posterity, the

most precious of his possessions—those materials on which he has transcribed the thoughts whereby the progress of his race is secured from age to age—the methods, by means of which the “*littera scripta manent*,” and, enshrined on clay tablet, or vellum, or parchment, or papyrus, or paper, became to each succeeding generation, “*monumenta aere perenniora*.” And not only is the story entrancing, but it has the added advantage of being entirely new.

The first chapter deals with the libraries of the ancients, commencing with the store-rooms built for the “clay-tablet books” of Assur-bani-pal and other Kings of Assyria, and passing through Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor to Rome. The method of keeping the “rolls” and the terms employed are happily described, and the Vatican Library of Sixtus V is shown to be a type of an ancient Roman library.

In the second chapter Christian libraries come on the scene. These were at first connected with churches, as the Pagan libraries had been connected with temples, and the same means for keeping the books were employed: either shelves with pigeon-holes ranged against the walls, or *armaria*, i.e., presses with one or two shelves, and doors, and often with a desk for the reader provided. This leads up to the question of the monastic libraries, of which the Benedictine are the earliest known; but as the Orders increased in number so did the libraries, for each house had its own. By means of numerous quotations from the rules and customs of the different Orders, Mr. Clark proves that reading was encouraged and enforced, and that a steady development of feeling with regard to books, and an ever-increasing care for their safe-keeping, can be traced. One quaint injunction in a MS. at Monte Cassino may be quoted:

“Quisquis quem tetigerit
Sit illi lota manus.”

and curses upon the careless reader or the depraver of the text are extremely common, such as may be seen in Rev. xxii, and have now descended to schoolboys and servant-maids.

A very interesting passage describes the development of the “book-room” among the monastic Orders, of whom the Cistercians, curiously enough, fixed upon the Chapter House and its neighbourhood, particularly the east walk of the Cloisters, as the place in which books should be kept; while the Benedictines chose the Cloister itself, and constructed a series of recesses, called “carrels,” for the reception of their books. A very fine series of these carrels still exists in the Cloisters at Gloucester Cathedral, each lighted by one of the external windows, and adapted for the use of a single monk. But the Cloisters must

have been terribly cold in winter, especially before the windows were glazed, and study was often interrupted from this cause; while a monk of Ramsay Abbey, Hunts, has recorded his "discomforts" in the following Latin couplet, which seems to show that all seasons were equally bad:—

" In vento minime pluviâ nive sole sedere
Possumus in claustro nec scribere neque studere."

Sheer necessity, therefore, soon called for the provision of proper accommodation for the books of the House, in the shape of special buildings or rooms; and it is possible to judge of the appearance of those attached to the monastic houses, which were all ruthlessly destroyed at the (so-called) "Reformation," by the mediæval examples attached to the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, which still exist. The appearance of a great monastic library may be imagined by the description left by Leland of his feelings, on first entering that of Glastonbury:—"I had hardly crossed the threshold, when the mere sight of books remarkable for their vast antiquity filled me with awe, or I might almost say with bewilderment, so that for a moment I could not move a step forward."

It is sad to think of the dispersal of these treasures, and of the destruction or irretrievable loss of the vast majority of them; to read, *e.g.*, Bale's account of the vile uses to which priceless MSS. from the Library of Duke Humphrey, of Gloucester, at Oxford were put; or of the tearing off of the gold and jewelled bindings, by order of the rapacious monarch, as in the case of the Lindisfarne Gospels, the MS. of which was fortunately preserved, to be rescued by Sir John Cotton, for the ultimate benefit of the nation, but so it was; and from the poor wreckage that remains the modern book-lover may form some idea of the wealth and interest of the mediæval library.

A most interesting account is given of the gradual re-establishment of libraries between 1580 and 1630, when printed books took the place of the lost MSS., and the ancient fittings were adapted to their new uses, as in the University Library at Oxford, which was re-founded by Sir Thomas Bodley in 1599, and now possesses over 600,000 volumes.

But, in the case of new libraries, the old plan of ranging the books on desks, with seats for the readers (of which a good example is to be seen in the illustration of the Library at Zutphen, which we are enabled to reproduce, by the courtesy of the publishers), was abandoned for upright ranges of shelves, standing at right angles to the walls, with an aisle down the centre of the room, as at Trinity College Library, Cambridge, and elsewhere. The first of these was the Library of

St. John's College, Cambridge, a "curious example of Jacobean Gothic," built in 1628. The earliest library in Europe to have the book-shelves set against the wall—a plan that seems so natural to us—was that of the Escorial, about 1580; the earliest in England was a new wing at the Bodleian, completed in 1612; but it was not till Sir Christopher Wren constructed the libraries at Lincoln and St. Paul's that the plan began to be really popular. But we must not follow our author any further in his delightful field of research. In a concluding chapter a graphic picture is given of mediæval private libraries; and we cordially endorse Mr. Clark's closing remarks, in which he reminds the reader that the mediæval collectors did not guard their MSS. with jealous care merely because they had paid a high price to have them written, but because they recognised the personal element in them; and every book-lover will echo the sentiment. This is a book which is indispensable to all such, and they will hasten to place it among the treasures on their shelves.

Shakespeare's Family. By Mrs. C. C. STOPES. (London: Stock, 1901, 10s. 6d. net.)—This painstaking volume contains everything that can be discovered by unwearied research, not only as to the family and connections of Shakespeare himself, but also of his maternal relations, the Ardens. As to the name of "Shakespeare," the authoress shows that it was widely prevalent throughout England from very early times; but it possessed no honour until the poet arose to endow it with undying fame, and it has produced no great man since. On his father's side William Shakespeare came of a humble stock, but through his mother he was connected with a proud and ancient race: for Mrs. Stopes gives good ground for believing that Mary Arden, though herself belonging to the Ardens of Wilmcott, and the daughter of a "husbandman," or small farmer, was connected with the Ardens of Park Hall, who were descended from the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick, who slew the "Northern Dragon," and "quenched the giant Colbrand's fame" in the time of King Alfred; and this descent may have had something to do with the strong vein of romance in the poet's nature. John Shakespeare, the poet's father, was the first to rise above the heraldic horizon, and his impelling motive was probably to make himself more worthy of his wife's family. We know the ridicule poured upon Shakespeare's coat-of-arms by his rival, Ben Jonson, and others.

Mrs. Stopes has diligently searched among parish registers as well as in the British Museum, the Record Office, and other sources of original knowledge, and we doubt if she has omitted a single bearer of the

name of Shakespeare from her list. She has, at any rate, unearthed one hitherto unknown, viz., a John Shakespeare of St. Clement's Danes, who was probably John of Snitterfield, and the poet's cousin. Her account of William Shakespeare's life is interesting and to the point, and we recommend her book to all who wish to know something of the man and the citizen, as distinct from the poet and dramatist. The authoress has a readable and pleasant style, which invests the dry bones of genealogical and personal details with a vivid and living interest; and we can imagine no more useful companion for a tour through "Shakespeare's country" and the homes of the Ardens.

In a book which deals with such a mass of names and dates, some errors no doubt exist; but we will leave them to the captious critic to discover. For ourselves we heartily congratulate Mrs. Stopes on the accomplishment of her laborious task, which every true lover of Shakespeare—and who is not, *pace* the Baconians?—will appreciate. The book is adorned with a number of capital illustrations and plans, and there is a full index.

Outer Isles. By A. GOODRICH-FREER. (London: Constable & Co., 1902, 12s. 6d. nett.)—In this delightful book Miss Goodrich-Freer records her experiences during a series of visits to the Hebrides, extending from the year 1894 down to the summer of 1901. As a narrative of travel in a part of the world unvisited by the ordinary tourist, told in a clear and lucid style by one who has a quick eye to see, a keen pulse to feel, and a warm sympathy with a hardy and still—in spite of Board Schools—primitive people, Miss Freer's book leaves nothing to be desired; but the authoress is something more than a mere retailer of experiences, however graphic and interesting they may be, and something more, too, than a warm sympathiser with a people who in recent times have suffered much at the hands of the owners of the soil—some of them alien purchasers—some, alas! descendants of the ancient lords of the islands, but whose thoughts have been more intent upon making money than on the comfort and interests of their crofter tenants. She is an archaeologist as well, and it is with that portion of her book that we would more particularly deal. As regards the present condition of the people, her picture is for the greater part a sad one. Some bright spots there are, in Eriskay, for instance, while the culmination of misery seems to be reserved for the people of South Uist; but wherever she went she kept her eyes open for the remains of the past, and her ears attent for the folklore and legends of the people; and we may say at once that the pages in which she describes these are among the most interesting and valuable in her book. Every-

where throughout the islands the traces of their history are to be found: menhirs and dolmens of the prehistoric inhabitants, tumuli of the ancient Goidhels, forts of the Danish and Scandinavian invaders, churches that go back to the days when Christianity was first introduced; and everywhere there are old stories and legends that bespeak a pagan origin, and feelings and ideas that betoken a residuum of paganism in the minds of the people: not only among those who, as in some of the islands, like the Irish peasantry, have clung to the "old faith," but even among those who have substituted a thin veneer of Presbyterianism for it. Prehistoric antiquities are numerous in Tyree; graves and grave-goods of the Viking period in South Uist: Christian remains in Eriskay. The legends of the people carry one back to the old Gaelic stories and the Ossianic cycle. The *Ceilidh* is a great institution. It is thus described by a boy on the Island of Tyree: "In this island we have the custom of assembling together during the long winter nights, to pass them off in happiness and mirth. We call this 'Ceilidh'." Several specimens of Ceilidh stories are given, and Miss Freer concludes: "It is for Ceilidh that the rhymes of old time were made, as in Greece for the festivals of the Gods and heroes, which keep alive for us even now the contemporary accounts of island history. It was at Ceilidh that the bards of old recited their poems and satires; it is Ceilidh that has preserved the tales of Ossian, so that to this day one may listen to endless stories of Fingal and Grain and Cuchullin" (pronounced, Coolin). And these islands are only thirty hours distant from the mainland of Scotland! Some of the ideas of the people about animals are very quaint, and bespeak the primitive race, *e.g.*, they believe that from their superior innocence the beasts can see much that is invisible to man—or at all events those men not gifted with second-sight; they believe also that before the Fall the animals had the gift of speech, and they preserve the last words of the horse, the cow, and the sheep. Some of the Christian legends, too, are very curious, and Miss Freer has collected a number of these from Eriskay and South Uist.

As regards the actual folk-lore of the islands, it is a moot point how much of it is Celtic and how much Norse—probably it largely partakes of both elements; and as regards place-names, if ever there were a Pictish nomenclature, it has long ago been superseded by the Norse, while the present Gaelic names that do exist are of modern origin. Some of the most interesting pages in the book are those that describe the operation of "fulling;" this is very elaborate, and while it is going on all the inhabitants of the village assemble, and sing a succession of songs; here again one can see the ancient life of the

people still going forward in an unbroken line from the past ; and, though a prolonged experience might spoil the glamour, we could imagine ourselves in the "heroic" age. But we must not linger over these enchanting scenes — enchanting, yet sad ; for, even in the Hebrides, the "old order" is rapidly passing and giving place to the new : and, if any would see the "Outer Isles" as Miss Freer has seen them, he had better hasten to visit them under her guidance.

There is a capital map, a useful glossary of Gaelic terms, a good index, and numerous illustrations.

Horns of Honour. By F. T. ELWORTHY. (London : John Murray, 1900, 10s. 6d. nett).—Mr. Elworthy is already widely known, not only as a veteran Somersetshire antiquary, but as an explorer of the by-paths of archaeological science, and he has, in the present volume, followed up and carried further the researches commenced in his previous book on *The Evil Eye*. His text is contained in the opening words of his introductory remarks, and it is one whose application extends even further than the author has been able to follow it in this book, viz., "that all attempts at decoration, whether of the person in the way of dress, or of pattern, shown by carved lines or other evidence of design, however crude, upon inanimate objects, had in their origin some definite idea or fact, which it was intended to illustrate," and, as regards the subjects with which he deals here, we agree fully with his justifiable assertion at the close of the book, that he has proved his point.

These subjects are—(1) that which gives its title to the book : "Horns of Honour ;" this is followed by (2) "Horns of the Devil ;" (3) the hand ; (4) the symbolic hand, or *mano pantea* ; and (5) those curious objects known as *dischi sacri*. From their names it will be at once understood that the two last subjects take us to Italy, where, more particularly in the southern districts, old-world superstitions still live and flourish. It is impossible, within the compass of a short notice, to do justice to the wealth of illustration which the author has brought together from all parts of the world, and from ancient and modern times, to conduce to the development of his thesis, and to help forward his explanation of the symbolism so universally employed by the human race ; nor would it be fair to him to do so. "For this," we can only say, "go to the book, and you will find a superabundance of proof that all symbolic ornamentation had a practical intent, and this was, after the growth of a belief in magic, usually to avert the dread effects of the first glance ; in other words, to ward off the Evil Eye ; while symbolic objects were intended to

effect the same end in another way." Incidentally, we may remark that Mr. Elworthy is able to explain how it is that Moses is represented as "shooting forth beams of light," or "horns" when he came down from Mount Sinai—the origin of the "horned Moses;" and the references to "horns" in so many passages of the Old Testament; *e.g.*, "All the horns of the wicked will I cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted;" while at the same time he is able to show how this same idea led to the nimbus with radiating spokes round the heads of Christ, the Madonna, and the Saints. The same idea, too, is latent in the universal use of horse-shoes, which are no other than the crescent; now, however, usually inverted, *i.e.*, with the horns downward. That this, however, is considered the wrong way to place them is proved by the following good folk-story, from the author's own county of Somerset, which we cannot forbear to quote:—"I know'd a farmer not very var herevrom, an' he ad terr'ble bad luck wi' 'is stock. He know'd they must be overlook'd. Well, a neighbour told 'n he could 'n expect no other, zo long as he did keep the 'oss-shoe wrong zide up; 'n if he did mind to save his beast (plural, *sic*) he must put 'n upright, wi' the heels o' un up on end. Well, zo he tookt and he turned the 'oss-shoe t' other way up, and he never had 'n a-got no bad luck arterwards."

This was told in 1895, and will serve to show the strength of ancient beliefs among English countryfolk at the close of the nineteenth century.

Space forbids our pursuing this subject further, but those who wish to know why the Devil is represented with horns, or the potent influence of the hand, or the meaning and object of the "hand of glory," of the *mano pantea*, and of the *dischi sacri*, must read this book for themselves, and they will be rewarded by an insight into the possibilities of human credulity when under the influence of superstition, and into the curiosities of magic, which it would be difficult to obtain elsewhere. The book is adorned with nearly 200 illustrations, many of them from drawings by the author, and the frontispiece gives a beautiful coloured representation of the *Lancea Minutulus*, from the chapel of the Minutoli in the cathedral of San Gennaro, at Naples, the original of which is supposed to have been painted in the fifteenth century. The paintings represent a procession of twenty-one knights, twelve of whom are "horned," as in the one reproduced.

How to make an Index. By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 4s. 6d.)—This, the latest addition to Mr. Stock's well-known "Book-Lovers' Library," under the able editorship of Mr.

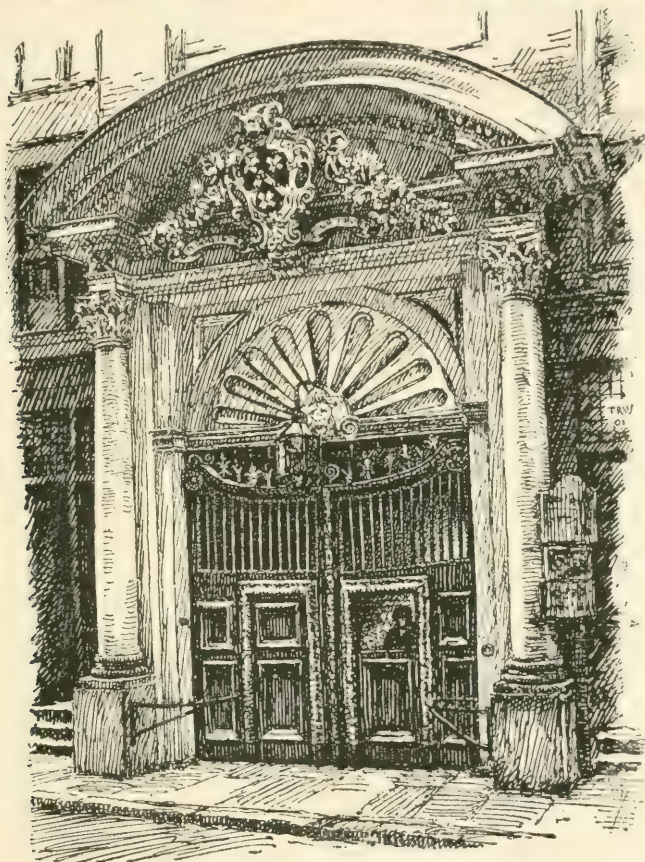
Wheatley, is the fifth of his contributions thereto, and worthily rounds off two of his former treatises on "How to Form" and "How to Catalogue a Library." It is an amusing, instructive, and valuable little book, more especially perhaps to the bibliographer, to whom it will prove practically suggestive and most helpful, while the general reader will find abundant entertainment within its pages. The first half of the volume is historical; and here various theories as to indexing are set forth, erroneous methods are exposed and illustrated by examples, and good models are adduced for imitation; the second half is practical: and here the different classes of indexes are distinguished and rules laid down for the making of an index, which, if they are only followed, will go far to ensure perfection. It is curious to note the hard fight which the word "index" had with various competitors, such as "calendar," "catalogue," "inventory," "register," "summary," and "syllabus," but in time it beat all its companions in the race, though the longest struggle was with the word "table." The best of satirical indexes is that written by Dr. King for Bentley's *Epistles of Phalaris*, and one of the most amusing is Lowell's index to *The Biglow Papers*.

Among the traps which beset the unwary indexer may be instanced the confusion of one letter for another, as of "j" for "i" and "u" for "n," which led to the following statement in the Rolls Series edition of Capgrave's *Chronicles of England* (1858): "India . . . conquered by Judas Maccabeus, 56," where the "londe of Jude" in the book is misread "Inde;" and another arises from the wrong filling out of initials, as in the absurd statement in the Camden Society's edition (1838) of the *Historie of Edward IV* (1471): "Wherefore the Kyng may say, as Julius Cæsar sayde, he that is not agaynst me is with me," where the original has "J. C."! As an example of how not to do it, may be mentioned the following entry: "Best (Mr. Justice), his great mind," where the passage referred to says: "Mr. Justice Best said he had a great mind to commit the man for trial?" Altogether, this is a book which every "book-lover" should make haste to possess.

A History of Lancashire. By Lt.-Col. H. Fishwick, F.S.A. (London: Stock, 3s. 6d. nett.)—This is a cheap reprint of Col. Fishwick's *History of Lancashire* in the "Popular County History" Series, and it was fully noticed in our *Journal* when it appeared in the more expensive form of its first issue. We accord the present cheap edition a hearty welcome, and feel sure that it will meet with a large public, not only in the county, but beyond. In describing the Roman remains at Ribchester, it is a pity that the author had not the advantage of the latest information on the subject—which will shortly be

published in our pages, and to which we commend his attention in any further edition—but, taken as a whole, the story he tells is as accurate as can be expected within the limited scope allowed to him.

The Ancient Halls of the City Guilds. Drawn in Lithography by THOMAS R. WAY; with some Account of the History of the Com-



Entrance Doorway to Brewers' Hall.

panies, by PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A. Demy 4to, with Thirty Lithographs and numerous Pen Drawings. Uniform with *Reliques of Old London*. (London: George Bell and Sons, 31s. 6d. nett; to Subscribers before publication 25s.)—In a volume on the *Ancient Royal Palaces of London*, published last year, Mr. Way dealt with the official residences of the Sovereigns of England. The present volume is concerned with the official residences of the merchant princes of

London. Few of the City Halls are of very great antiquity, nearly all having been destroyed in the Great Fire; yet most of those illustrated in this book were rebuilt within a few years after that catastrophe, and many of the finest buildings are the work of Sir Christopher Wren and his immediate followers. They are thus of very great artistic as well as antiquarian interest, and worthy to rank with the Royal Palaces, with some of which Wren's name is also closely connected. The many fine modern Halls lie outside the scope of this work, in which none built later than the eighteenth century have been included.

Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A., whose intimate study of the history and antiquities of the City entitle him to rank as the first living authority on the subject, has contributed the letterpress of this work. It was through a visit to some of the City Halls under his guidance that the idea of the present volume first arose.

The book—of which not more than five hundred copies will be issued—is now offered to subscribers, a list of whom will be printed at the end of the volume. The remainder of the edition will afterwards be offered to the public at an advanced price.

Reading Abbey. By JAMIESON B. HURRY, M.A. (Stock, 1901).—Histories of Abbeys are among some of the most interesting diversions of archæology. We visit their sites, admire their situations, deplore their condition, and go our way deeply imbued with the desire of learning what is known of their builders, their inmates, and their history. Of the great number of these institutions which formerly existed among us, but few, comparatively speaking, have been critically investigated, explored, excavated, and historically reconstructed in the mind. Mr. Hurry adds one more to the gradually increasing list of those which have arrested the attention and curiosity of the antiquary, and claimed the necessary work of research which alone stamps the true archæological investigators.

Reading Abbey—one of the so-called mitred abbeys, from the fact that its abbots held an *ex-officio* seat in Parliament, belonged to the Benedictine Order; it stood for upwards of four hundred years from the date of its foundation by King Henry I to its suppression by King Henry VIII, passing through many vicissitudes, taking part in so many historical events; sharing, as well it might, in the making of England, and witnessing Parliaments, pomps, pageants, councils, popular movements, and the final horrors attendant on the barbarous execution of its last and greatest Abbot, Hugh of Farringdon. All this is well told by Mr. Hurry, who has gathered up the relics that

remain scattered through the pages of our national records and histories. Charters, seals, arms, manuscripts, views, the fasts of the abbots, the donors of the landed possessions, the plan and uses of the apartments and offices, and many other matters which relate to the once splendid institution, have not escaped the author's observation. He has put them together into a readable and highly attractive form, in a book of much beauty; and the result is, that he deserves cordial congratulation on so excellent a production, and this we may safely accord to him without stint, as to one who has conscientiously performed a self-appointed task. To have aptly resuscitated the long-lost history of so grand a fabric and so important a foundation is a work deserving of universal approbation.

We have also received the two first issues of a new popular edition of the "Book-Lover's Library," viz., *How to Form a Library*, by H. B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A., and *Old Cookery Books*, by W. C. HAZLITT. Both these books were noticed in this *Journal*, when they first appeared in their more expensive dress. They are now published at the low price of 1s. 6d., tastefully bound with square-cut canvas backs, and in this form will, we are sure, be welcomed by a large public. They deserve, as we sincerely hope they will obtain, a wide circulation among book-loving readers.

Mr. Lathbury informs us that the publication of *The Pilot* (a Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, and Learning), price 3d., was resumed on Saturday, December 6th, an announcement which all who knew the previous issue will heartily welcome.

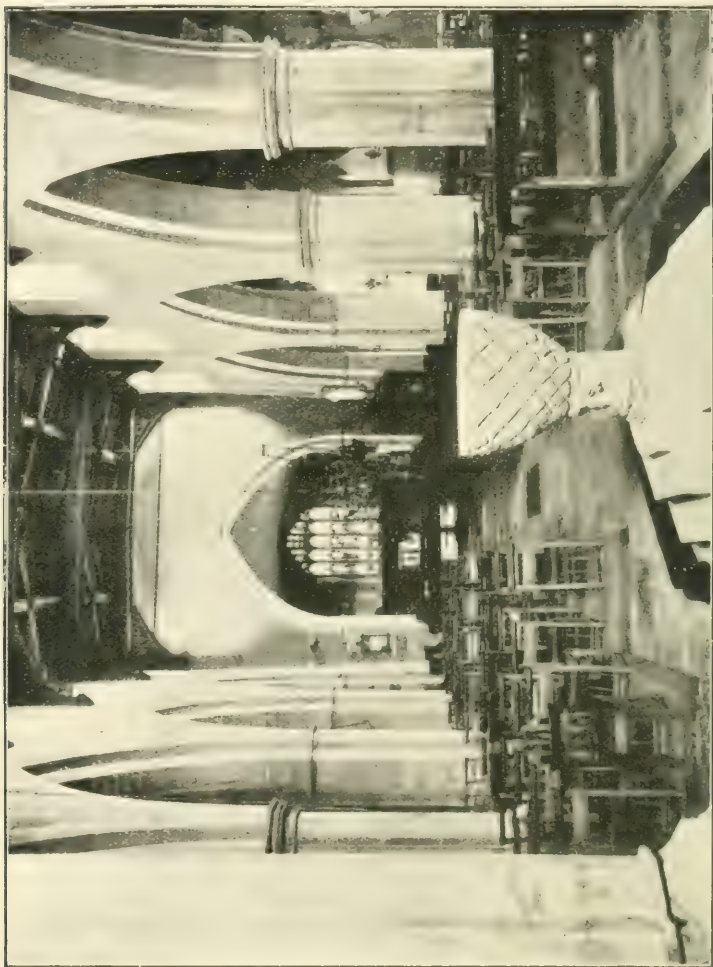
The Church of The Holy Cross at Ramsbury.—The church at Ramsbury, i.e., Ravensbury, or the Church of Hrafn, an old Danish or Scandinavian hero, with its massive tower and unusual proportions, is a building of the thirteenth century, on the site of the church which for one hundred and fifty years previous to the Norman Conquest had given its name to the Saxon Diocese of Wiltshire and Berkshire.

The large cross and other carved stones, lately discovered in the rebuilding of the south wall, are records of this period.

The church having fallen into a dilapidated condition, was reopened on August 10th, 1893, after a thorough restoration, costing over £6,000.

Since that date a deficit of £355 on the building fund has been paid off by the parishioners, who have also collected a further sum of £530 towards the completion of the original undertaking in the re-seating of the church.

In the autumn of last year the plans for this purpose, drawn by their architect, J. A. Reeve, Esq., were accepted by the committee, at the cost of £1,007.



Ramsbury Church: Interior.

The Bishop has shown his interest in the work by a promised donation of £20.

The committee are encouraged by this and other liberal donations to appeal to the large number of those who have taken an interest in the preservation of this ancient building, to enable them to raise the remainder of the required sum.

If any of our Associates are able to help forward this good work, their contributions will be gladly acknowledged, either by the Rev. Weston B. Davis, Ramsbury Vicarage, Hungerford, or may be paid direct to the branch of the Capital and Counties Bank at Hungerford to the "Ramsbury Church (Completion) Restoration" account.



Cross and other relics found at Ramsbury.

Obituary.

HENRY SYER CUMING.

By the death of Mr H. S. Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., at an advanced age, on the 7th inst., archæology has lost a devoted and prominent supporter. Mr. Cuming was the son of Richard Cuming, an antiquary of considerable repute and collector of relics, especially old articles relating to the metropolis and its vicinity. The tastes of the father appear to have been inherited in a strong degree by the son, for we find the late Mr. H. S. Cuming's name among the members of the British Archæological Association from the year 1844, when he was quite a young man, down to the present year, where he is included among the vice-presidents. In 1856 he became secretary of this society, and edited the *Journal* for several years. In connexion with the Association he was the contemporary of many of the best-known antiquaries of the day—the late J. Robinson Planché, C. Roach Smith, Thos. J. Pettigrew, Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, Dr. Samuel Birch, W. Henry Black, Geo. Godwin, Sir Fortunatus Durriss, J. O.

Halliwell-Phillipps, W. Harrison Ainsworth, the Rev. Thomas Hugo, and many other prominent archaeologists now, alas! no more among us. Surrounded by such associates, Cuming could not but follow their leanings, and he begun at any early age to form collections of antiquities, and acquire an extensive library of antiquarian literature, which proved for him a fascinating and all-absorbing pursuit during the whole of his long life. His house in Kennington Park Road was dedicated in the main to the purposes of a private museum, where he stored the choicest specimens from the Leverian and other collections, a considerable series of coins, quantities of fictilia, ceramic ware, flint implements, metal objects, prehistoric remains, and the miscellanea which came to hand from the most productive excavations that took place in and around London. His collections were not alone devoted to the things above mentioned, but also comprised a large variety of objects, such as toys, engravings, and numerous things illustrative of the manners and customs of all ages, almost down to the close of the last century. All these were carefully arranged, classified, and exhaustively labelled, thus forming a thoroughly educational series of the greatest value to the student of bygone times. Cuming's knowledge of antiquities was unusually thorough and accurate; he freely imparted information and the kindest assistance to those who were attracted to him by his world-wide reputation, and he was eminently qualified to teach the subjects which he had made so entirely his own. The collection he had formed will not be dispersed, for he has given to the Southwark Corporation, as representing the parish of Newington, where he lived, his museum of archæology, natural history, and ethnology, together with his coins, medals, curios, and library, and a sum of £8,000 for its maintenance. He had thought of leaving them to the British Museum, the congenial atmosphere of which many would have preferred, but was persuaded otherwise. In all likelihood the collection will find a permanent home in the Newington Library, Walworth Road, where it will testify alike to the untiring ardour and discriminating taste of the man. Besides all this collecting he found time to write numberless articles on many interesting relics acquired by himself or others, and the *Journal* of this Association has been enriched for nearly sixty years with an immense number of valuable monographs on the æsthetic antiquities of Britain, carefully and artistically illustrated by his pen, and contrasted with objects of cognate origin found in our islands.





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NOTE

This Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

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To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1891 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

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 Wittenham (Little): *Cozens*. See "Numismatics."
 Romsey: *Moens, Peers*.
 Royden: *Gerish*.
 Ruyton-of-the-eleven-towns: *Kenyon*.
 Ryland: *Ffrench*.
 Saddleworth: *Andrew*.
 St. Mylor: *Peter*.
 St. Patrick's Purgatory: *MacRitchie*.
 Saints: *Auden, Baring-Gould*.
 Sarawak: *Hose, Shelford*.
 Saverlake: *Willett*.
 Saxon antiquities: *Goldney, Hughes, Peers*.
 Scotland: *Brydall, Campbell, Coles, Lewis, Mackay, MacRitchie, Mitchell, Munro*. See "Aberdeenshire," "Arran," "Caithness," "Eigg," "Elgin," "Fifeshire," "Glasgow," "Largs," "Paisley," "Stirlingshire," "Sutherland."
 Scunthorpe: *Gatty*.
 Seaford: *Rice*.
 Seals: *Atkinson, Warren*.
 Send and Ripley: *Johnston*.
 Shakespeare: *Sayle*.
 Sherston: *Ponting*.
 Shifnal: *Phillips*.
 Shrewsbury: *Drinkwater, Fletcher, Morris, Phillips*.
 Shropshire: *Auden, Drinkwater, Fletcher, Hope-Edwards, Phillips, Shropshire*. See "Fitz," "Haughmond," "Oldbury," "Ruyton," "Shrewsbury," "Shifnal," "Uffington," "Whitchurch," "Witley."
 Shute: *Jewers*.
 Silchester: *Fox, Hope, Reid*.
 Somersford (Great): *Manley*.
 Somersetshire: *Bates, Fry, Morgan*. See "Bath," "Langford Budville," "Pitney Moor," "Wells," "Whately," "Winsham."

- Spain: *Dalton*.
 Spoons (wooden): *Allen*.
 Staffordshire: See "Biddulph."
 Standon: *Brown, Crofton*.
 Stanford Rivers: *Round*.
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 Stirlingshire: *Anderson*.
 Stockbury: *Cooke*.
 Stockleigh English: *Erskine-Risk*.
 Stone implements: See "Prehistoric."
 Strickland: *Whiteside*.
 Suffolk: *Suffolk*. See "Bardwell."
 " Blythburgh," " Ickworth."
 Sundials: *Evans*.
 Surrey: *André, Bax, Cooper, Napper, Roberts*. See "Carshalton,"
 " Guildford," " Kingston - on -
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 Sussex: *André, Dawson, Hall, Haver-*
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 "Warnham," "West Dean,"
 "Willington," "Woollaving-
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 Sutherland: *Anderson Mackay*.
 Tasmania: *Moir*.
 Tattershall: *Synypson*.
 Templepatrick: *Latimer*.
 Tewkesbury: *Warren*.
 Tiptree: *F*.
 Tobacco pipes: *Price*.
 Toddington: *Buddeley*.
 Tolleshunt Tregoz: *Round*.
 Tong: *Calvert*.
 Totnes: *Windeatt*.
 Trephining: *Crimp*.
 Treyford: *Rice*.
 Tumuli, Barrows: *Barnes, Collins-
 wood, Hughes, Worth*.
 Turville: *Cocks, Forsyth*.
 Tynemouth: *Adamson*.
 Uffington: *Fletcher*.
 Ulvescroft: *Patrick*.
 Upchurch: *Woodruff*.
 Uphall: *Primrose*.
 Vale Royal: *Phelps*.
 Wakefield: *Peacock*.
 Wales: *Allen, Laws, Yeatman*. See
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 "Fishguard," "Llandaff,"
 "Llantrissant."
 Walmer: *Fry, Woodruff*.
 Waltham: *Tydemann*.
 Waltham (Little): *Christie*.
 Ware: *Andrews*.
 Warnham: *André*.
 Warter: *Hope*.
 Watton: *Hope*.
 Wells: *Church, Coleman*.
 Welwyn: *Caldecott, Gerish*.
 West Dean: *Rice*.
 Westbury-upon-Trym: *Hudd*.
 Westmorland: See "Comer Hall,"
 "Kentmere," "Strickland,"
 "Witherslack."
 Wethersfield: *Round*.
 Whatley: *Hartshorne*.
 Whitchurch: *Thompson, Vane*.
 Wilderspool: *May*.
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 Wills: *Calvert, Round, Sherwood*.
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 ton," "Malmesbury," "Nether-
 avon," "Savernake," "Sherston,"
 "Somerford (Great)."
 Winsham: *Lott*.
 Wirral: *Pool*.
 Witherslack: *Hutton*.
 Wittenham (Little): *Cozens*.
 Wollaton: *Gotch*.
 Wolsey (Cardinal): *Evans*.
 Woodmansterne: *Lambert*.
 Woollavington: *Rice*.
 Worcester: *James*.
 Worcestershire: *Walters*. See "Kemp-
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 Wormley: *Austin*.
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 Yarburgh: *Fowler*.
 Yorkshire: *Lay*. See "Burnby,"
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 ter," "Watton."

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